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EDITORIAL

"You must remember that other people are human beings too." If we were organizing a musical quiz this remark would no doubt come under the heading: 'Who said the following, and to whom?'. It would be interesting to know how many people would get the answer right. The mind might recall many instances in the history of music of protests against oppression before lighting on Karl van Beethoven. Faced with the written record in his uncle's conversation book, we can only guess at the remark that prompted this outburst; but any guess we make is likely to be near the truth. What had this young man done to be bullied in this merciless fashion? Granted that he was feckless, lazy and careless about money, was it likely that he would improve under the burden of a tyrannous affection which grew into a monstrous selfishness? "I'm not going out", he says a few lines later, "I only want to be alone for a bit." To be alone is the privilege of any human creature, but that was the one thing that Beethoven could not allow his nephew. In torturing the man he loved he tortured himself even more and plunged the two of them into a hell of unhappiness so bitter that Karl attempted suicide.

It is the fate of nonentities to disappear quietly from the pages of history; but somehow Karl refuses to be pushed aside. The record of his misery is bound up with Beethoven's—but it does not explain it. The boot is rather on the other foot. Beethoven, said Schindler, "constantly at odds with himself and all the world, loved and hated without reason". It is not an unfamiliar condition, but that does not

make it any less pathetic. Krehbiel has well summed up the consequences of Beethoven's battle with his sister-in-law:

After more than twelve years he found that what he had tried to eradicate in the child, still lived in the youth. He had fought against nature and failed; and the failure filled him with bitterness, added to his hatred of the woman and his disappointment with the son. Such intensity of malevolence, though it may have had its origin in the profoundest conviction of virtuous purpose, could not fail to be prejudicial to his own moral character. So, also, his solicitude for his ward's material welfare, which extended to a time when he should no longer be able to make provision for him, seems to have warped his nature. It weakened his pride; distorted his moral view; subjected him, not always unjustly, to accusation of dishonesty in his dealings with his patrons and publishers; made him parsimonious, and at the last brought upon him the reproach of having begged alms of his English friends, though possessed of property which might easily and quickly have been converted into money to supply his last needs more than generously.

It is a tremendous indictment, but there is not a word in it that cannot be justified. Beethoven was a monster, and like all monsters excites pity as well as horror. It is no excuse to say that he was a genius. There have been plenty of geniuses who managed to live with their fellow men without tying themselves into knots. In any case it is not a question of excuses, nor of a possible cure. A course of psychotherapy might have turned Beethoven into a friendly and unsuspicious human being, free from awkwardness and regular in his habits. But in that case what would have happened to the music? We have to accept it as it is, warts and all. Heaven knows there are plenty of warts. The clumsiness and boorish good humour that appeared in his social relations turn up again in the music. This is not always realized, particularly by the devout, since the really bad compositions are never performed. If they were, we should see more clearly the paradox of Beethoven's career—the gulf that separates the heights to which he could rise and the depths to which he could sink. He was like a Caliban struggling with intimations of immortality. No great composer has ever had to work harder to see the light. The sketch-books are a record of appalling frustration, of the effort to discover ideas which often seem painfully obvious when they have been found. Simple-minded people either adore Beethoven's music or loathe it with an equal passion. The truth is between these extremes. A slight twist of direction could turn his imagination up to the seventh heaven or send it plunging into an abyss of banality that even now can make the listener blush with shame. If only, the worshipper may think, there had been no nephew, if only Beethoven

had been free to concentrate on his work. But that is much too simple a solution. We should have to say: if only Beethoven could have been free of all material worries, if only he could have learned to live with others, if only he had been different from what he was.

It is much too easy to blame Karl. Krehbiel saw this very clearly and apportioned the blame more or less equally. I say 'Krehbiel' because the latter part of the English edition of Thayer's life of Beethoven is largely his work. This often goes unrecognized by those who refer simply to 'Thayer' as a source, presumably because they have not read the title-page or are unaware of the vast differences between this edition and Riemann's revision and completion of the German edition by Deiters. In his introduction to the recent reprint¹ Mr. Pryce-Jones gives the legend a new lease of life. Krehbiel is briefly mentioned as 'reviser' of the five-volume German edition, but after that the discussion proceeds as though the biography were entirely the work of Thayer; and the title-page does not mention Krehbiel at all. In the circumstances it is scarcely fair to say that Thayer achieved an 'exhaustive' biography, since he died before it was finished. The wonder is that he did not die even earlier. Plagued by continuous ill-health, constantly in need of money, and in the end racked by violent headaches, he struggled under a burden which would have crushed a lesser man.

Mr. Pryce-Jones suggests that he was frustrated by the effort to be fair. This does not square with Thayer's own declaration: "I fight for no theories, and cherish no prejudices; my sole point of view is the truth". It is quite obvious that he did not like the evidence of Beethoven's human weaknesses, but he made no attempt to suppress it. On the contrary his biography dealt a death-blow to the romantic attitude towards Beethoven's personality which had persisted through the nineteenth century. Mr. Pryce-Jones is on dangerous ground when he says of Beethoven's hatred of his own family: "This was an aspect of his personality which Thayer found hard to stomach. It is the factor which first slowed, and eventually altogether stopped, Thayer's great work as it neared completion". It would be interesting to know the evidence for this opinion. Thayer's original work stopped at 1816, the year in which Beethoven became the guardian of his nephew—in other words before the ructions really began. As for Beethoven's interference with the domestic life of his brother Johann in 1812, Thayer makes no excuse

¹ 'The Life of Ludwig van Beethoven.' By Alexander Wheelock Thayer. With an introduction by Alan Pryce-Jones. 3 vols. pp. xxiv + 371; 416; 350. (Centaur Press, London, 1960, £4 4s.)

whatever for his behaviour. Even though he finds it "hardly credible that Beethoven, with all his eccentricities of character," should have come to Linz with the intention of making trouble, he admits frankly that all the evidence points to this. And he concludes by saying that the whole affair was "more disgraceful to Ludwig than [to] Johann".

But it is when he comes to Thayer's opinion of Beethoven's character in general that Mr. Pryce-Jones leads the reader most astray. "It was impossible", he says, for Thayer "to admit openly that so great a composer could be much less than a demigod as a human being." But that is precisely what Thayer did admit. Here are his actual words, which are worth quoting in full:

A true and exhaustive picture of Beethoven as a man would present an almost ludicrous contrast to that which is generally entertained as correct. As sculptors and painters have each in turn idealized the work of his predecessor, until the composer stands before us like a Homeric god—until those who knew him personally, could they return to earth, would never suspect that the grand form and noble features of the more pretentious portraits are intended to represent the short muscular figure and pock-pitted face of their old friend—so in literature evoked by the composer a similar process has gone on, with a corresponding suppression of whatever is deemed common and trivial, until he is made a being living in his own peculiar realm of gigantic ideas, above and apart from the rest of mankind—a sort of intellectual Thor, dwelling in "darkness and clouds of awful state", and making in his music mysterious revelations of things unutterable! But it is really some generations too soon for a conscientious investigator of his history to view him as a semi-mythological personage, or to discover that his notes to friends asking for pens, making appointments to dinner at taverns, or complaining of servants, are "cyclopean blocks of granite", which, like the "chops and tomato sauce" of Mr. Pickwick, contain depths unfathomable of profound meaning. The present age must be content to find in Beethoven, with all his greatness, a very human nature, one which, if it showed extraordinary strength, exhibited also extraordinary weaknesses.

It is nearly 40 years since Thayer-Krehbiel was published. A good deal of work on Beethoven has been done since then, and our old friend is out of date. We are promised a revised edition in 1964 or thereabouts. In the meantime those who have hitherto given up the attempt to acquire the 1921 edition will be glad to have this facsimile reprint (in a slightly reduced format) for what in these days must be considered quite a reasonable price. Whatever has been achieved by later research, Thayer's biography is still a standard work, not to say a classic. Of how many books on music published in the last 100 years can that truthfully be said?

THE QUARREL OF THE ANCIENTS AND THE MODERNS

BY HERBERT M. SCHUELLER

THOUGH neo-classicism persisted in holding tight to absolutes like taste, judgment, nature and imitation, it had two relativistic rivals in the eighteenth century. These were sensational psychology, which placed the focus of æsthetic evaluation in the individual's response to art-works, and historical relativism, which seemed to make it plain that art and music are different at different times. And if historical relativism itself persisted in holding tight to absolutes, it still assumed that different ages are, in their different ways, closer to, or farther from, a realization of the absolutes. Historical relativism emphasized the importance of time as an influence in the arts.

Scholars are rapidly establishing the fact that nineteenth-century European and American thought, often described as revolutionary in the sense that it represented sudden changes, rested on eighteenth-century foundations. Romanticism as such, it is said, was anticipated by 'pre-Romanticism'. Nineteenth-century psychology, even if most of it was the work of philosophers and artists rather than of scientists, was built upon eighteenth-century associational psychology, and while a scientific psychology like Freud's exhibited a rare kind of independence, popular notions of psychology did not go beyond where they were in 1800. In philosophy David Hume's questions were questions still. Epistemology had to wrestle with the unknowable or admit that human capabilities are apparently narrow and limited. The thought of Immanuel Kant made possible—so it seems—the idealistic philosophies of Schelling, Hegel and Schopenhauer. Even the writing of history according to the principal of development based upon the reconciliation of opposites (to use Coleridge's term) or 'the' dialectic (to use Hegel's) had its foreshadowings in eighteenth-century histories which assumed that enlightenment was an eighteenth-century phenomenon and that the world had finally succeeded in being the best of all possible worlds. History as development was more true to the facts of life than history as high and ultimate accomplishment, but the difference is not the problem here.

The problem is one aspect, but a very important one, of historical

of the seventeenth century in France—including Racine, Fénelon, Huet, the Daciers, La Fontaine, Bossuet, La Bruyère—were defied as defenders of the ancients by Charles Perrault (*'Le Siècle de Louis le Grand'*, 1687, and *'Parallèles entre les anciens et les modernes'*, 1688-1697). Perrault's most devastating opponent was Boileau, his greatest ally Fontenelle. Meanwhile Charles Saint-Évremond, a French political exile in England, had brought the quarrel to England, where Sir William Temple, William Wotton and Jonathan Swift took up the important issue. Temple (*'Of Ancient and Modern Learning'*, 1690) showed more heat than light in attacking the French moderns, modern science and modern literature. Wotton (*'Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning'*, 1694) took the part of the moderns. Swift (*'The Battle of the Books'*, written 1697, published 1704) tried to come to the defence of Temple, who was his patron, and succeeded in being vituperative towards Temple's enemy Bentley (*'A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris'*, 1699), who in the entire quarrel had right on his side. Actually, the quarrel as it occurred in England stopped here, though it continued in France for some time. But the opposing ideas are everywhere in eighteenth-century English literature.

While the literary aspects of the quarrel subsided—or at least did not inspire the writing of complete works—the musical one came to life. This happened after the middle of the eighteenth century, no doubt because of the supposedly clear opposition between polyphony and homophony. The one represented the ancients, depending upon how one defined the term. The second clearly was modern and commonly preferred. But in music criticism, as in literary writing, the quarrel began on the Continent in the sixteenth century. Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590) defended the moderns and Vincenzo Galilei (*'Dialogo della musica antica e moderna'*, 1581) defended the ancients. The musical aspect of the quarrel reached England in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Dr. John Wallis (1649-1703) took the mathematical scientist's position in favour of the moderns, and Isaac Vossius (*'De Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rhythmi'*, 1673), a Dutch scholar who took his influence right to England by living there from 1670 onward, ascribed the efficacy of ancient music to its rhythm.

Temple and Wotton, like all literary men before the era of professionalism in the arts, felt themselves competent to take sides in the musical aspect of the quarrel. Temple's position was quite simple: since poetry had declined in modern times, so had music. (Like most of his contemporaries, he saw music as the handmaiden

of poetry.) Temple's evidence was the stories coming from ancient times of the effect of music (which were really stories about chanted poetry). All he saw in the music of his day were certain notes "that fell into the fancy or observation of a poor Frier in chanting his matins". Whether Temple refers to Guido d'Arezzo (c. 980-1050) and the solmization system or to any 'ignorant' monk in the Middle Ages one does not know. But apparently he felt that he had disposed of medieval music, and the music of his own day as well, once and for all.

William Wotton for several reasons took a position in approval of the moderns: modern musicians do not know or understand the works of ancient musicians; music has always had lasting charms, but the moderns have improved the music of the ancients wherever it was improvable; the perfection of ancient music has been demonstrated only by verbal accounts about Orpheus and Amphion, or by allegories interpreted, as Horace understood them, to show the reducing of a wild and savage people to regularity.³ Wotton even relied, as one eventually must in justifying æsthetic preferences in music, to technical matters. The ancients, he said, did not have so many "half-" and "quarter-notes" as does modern music. The resulting greater degree of rhythmic complexity in modern times has produced "an unspeakable [that is, indescribable] Variety into Modern *Musick*, more than could formerly be had: Because it is in Notes, as it is in Numbers [syllables]; the more of them there are, the more variously they may be combined together". Apparently Wotton was single-handedly creating an æsthetic principle, replacing neo-classical simplicity with complexity. While he thought that ancient music had everything that still affected modern hearers, he also saw that modern music would have seemed confused to the ancients—confused, intricate and unpleasant. But if complexity is a virtue in the arts, Wotton felt that the greater the apparent confusion, the greater pleasure does polyphony give the hearer skilled in unravelling the parts. (Or, one supposes, by analogy the greater pleasure does complicated poetry like Donne's or highly wrought poetry like Milton's give the reader. Could Wotton have been anticipating modern literary critics of the difficult-and-close-reading school?) To Wotton, who unwittingly saw as modern what his eighteenth-century followers were to see as ancient, compositions made up of interwoven melodic strands are made up of what is truly excellent in music.⁴

³ 'Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning' (London, 1694), pp. 283-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

Though the word 'democratic' was not in Wotton's vocabulary, he did indicate that ancient music was probably more democratic than modern. In the end, he said, the purpose of music is to please the ear, and since ancient music was sung in one part instead

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music of the preceding centuries from falling into oblivion. Probably deriving from the flood of Handel's popularity, it played music of the despised polyphonic past, not that of the classical ancients. In ~~most~~ ~~handwritten~~ ~~writers~~ indicated which kind of ancient music ~~was given into a modern sensibility.~~ ~~As in not going out~~ he says a few lines later, "I only want to be alone for a bit." To be alone is the privilege of any human creature, but that was the one thing that Beethoven could not allow his nephew. In torturing the man he loved he tortured himself even more and plunged the two of them into a hell of unhappiness so bitter that Karl attempted suicide.

It is the fate of nonentities to disappear quietly from the pages of history; but somehow Karl refuses to be pushed aside. The record of his misery is bound up with Beethoven's—but it does not explain it. The boot is rather on the other foot. Beethoven, said Schindler, "constantly at odds with himself and all the world, loved and hated without reason". It is not an unfamiliar condition, but that does not

whatever for his behaviour. Even though he finds it "hardly credible that Beethoven, with all his eccentricities of character," should have come to Linz with the intention of making trouble, he admits frankly that all the evidence points to this. And he concludes by saying that the whole affair was "more disgraceful to Ludwig than [to] Johann".

But it is when he comes to Thayer's opinion of Beethoven's character in general that Mr. Pryce-Jones leads the reader most astray. "It was impossible", he says, for Thayer "to admit openly that so great a composer could be much less than a demigod as a human being." But that is precisely what Thayer did admit. Here are his actual words, which are worth quoting in full:

A true and exhaustive picture of Beethoven as a man would present an almost ludicrous contrast to that which is generally entertained as correct. As sculptors and painters have each in turn idealized the work of his predecessor, until the composer stands before us like a Homeric god—until those who knew him personally, could they return to earth, would never suspect that the grand form and noble features of the more pretentious portraits are intended to represent the short muscular figure and pock-pitted face of their old friend—so in literature evoked by the composer a similar process has gone on, with a corresponding suppression of whatever is deemed common and trivial, until he is made a being living in his own peculiar realm of gigantic ideas, above and apart from the rest of mankind—a sort of intellectual Thor, dwelling in "darkness and clouds of awful state", and making in his music mysterious revelations of things unutterable! But it is really some generations too soon for a conscientious investigator of his history to view him as a semi-mythological personage, or to discover that his notes to friends asking for pens, making appointments to dinner at taverns, or complaining of servants, are "cyclopean blocks of granite", which, like the "chops and tomato sauce" of Mr. Pickwick, contain depths unfathomable of profound meaning. The present age must be content to find in Beethoven, with all his greatness, a very human nature, one which, if it showed extraordinary strength, exhibited also extraordinary weaknesses.

It is nearly 40 years since Thayer-Krehbiel was published. A good deal of work on Beethoven has been done since then, and our old friend is out of date. We are promised a revised edition in 1964 or thereabouts. In the meantime those who have hitherto given up the attempt to acquire the 1921 edition will be glad to have this facsimile reprint (in a slightly reduced format) for what in these days must be considered quite a reasonable price. Whatever has been achieved by later research, Thayer's biography is still a standard work, not to say a classic. Of how many books on music published in the last 100 years can that truthfully be said?

THE QUARREL OF THE ANCIENTS AND THE MODERNS

BY HERBERT M. SCHUELLER

THOUGH neo-classicism persisted in holding tight to absolutes like taste, judgment, nature and imitation, it had two relativistic rivals in the eighteenth century. These were sensational psychology, which placed the focus of æsthetic evaluation in the individual's response to art-works, and historical relativism, which seemed to make it plain that art and music are different at different times. And if historical relativism itself persisted in holding tight to absolutes, it still assumed that different ages are, in their different ways, closer to, or farther from, a realization of the absolutes. Historical relativism emphasized the importance of time as an influence in the arts.

Scholars are rapidly establishing the fact that nineteenth-century European and American thought, often described as revolutionary in the sense that it represented sudden changes, rested on eighteenth-century foundations. Romanticism as such, it is said, was anticipated by 'pre-Romanticism'. Nineteenth-century psychology, even if most of it was the work of philosophers and artists rather than of scientists, was built upon eighteenth-century associational psychology, and while a scientific psychology like Freud's exhibited a rare kind of independence, popular notions of psychology did not go beyond where they were in 1800. In philosophy David Hume's questions were questions still. Epistemology had to wrestle with the unknowable or admit that human capabilities are apparently narrow and limited. The thought of Immanuel Kant made possible—so it seems—the idealistic philosophies of Schelling, Hegel and Schopenhauer. Even the writing of history according to the principal of development based upon the reconciliation of opposites (to use Coleridge's term) or 'the' dialectic (to use Hegel's) had its foreshadowings in eighteenth-century histories which assumed that enlightenment was an eighteenth-century phenomenon and that the world had finally succeeded in being the best of all possible worlds. History as development was more true to the facts of life than history as high and ultimate accomplishment, but the difference is not the problem here.

The problem is one aspect, but a very important one, of historical

writing about music in eighteenth-century Britain. This problem is the so-called 'Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns': the attendant assumption was that progress had amply demonstrated where civilization—and music—had reached the highest point either had known. Though the focal point here is Great Britain, one might as well have chosen France and Britain together. It has become a commonplace that French music criticism profoundly influenced British music criticism of the eighteenth century. But criticism was really European and not insular, education being what it was and the interweaving of cultural strands throughout Europe by the roving gentlemen of all countries contributing as it did to a consistency of intellectual texture which seems absent in the twentieth century.

The best historical writing of the period, some of it pioneer work in its own right, came from both France and England. Voltaire's 'Siècle de Louis XIV' (1751) and 'Essai sur les mœurs' (1756), Hume's 'History of England' (1763) and Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire' (1776-1788) are European examples of attempts to apply rational and enlightened intelligence to events long over and to illustrate that history was, as Lord Bolingbroke said, "philosophy teaching by examples". But if France influenced English music criticism, England takes the palm for achieving the first music histories, properly speaking, of the western world. The histories of Hawkins and Burney had been antedated by works which treated musical subjects in an incipient fashion, or indirectly. There had been histories of the organ, for instance, just as there were incipient histories of English literature in works like Puttenham's 'Arte of English Poesie' (1589). But to write a history of an art as such was to do something fairly new, and there were a few histories of literature to encourage Hawkins and Burney in their pursuit as music historians. There was Richard Hurd's 'Letters on Chivalry and Romance' (1762). (History, like the novel, could properly take the epistolary form, as recipes for making one an orator or poet had done for years.) In the year following appeared John Brown's 'Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power . . . of Poetry and Music'. Later came Thomas Warton's 'History of English Poetry' (1774-1781), which, however, had been preceded by one of the first thorough-going examples of historical criticism in 'Observations on the Faerie Queene of Spenser' (1754). Justification for the historical treatment of the arts, and especially of music, had been expressed privately by Roger North. Music, like all things "that belong to the pleasures of sense", he said, undergoes a variety of preferences at the hands of

human beings, who follow novelty and go from one thing to another: "it is poorness of spirit and a low method of thinking, that inclines men to pronounce for the present, and allow nothing to times past".¹ Just as environment and custom can determine judgments of taste, so can one's place in time.

In the eighteenth century, when North wrote, there were men who "pronounced for the present and allowed nothing to times past". But there were others who pronounced for the past and allowed nothing to the time present. Great differences, really understood or merely imagined, were discerned between the music of the Renaissance and that of the eighteenth century, and as one made his decisions, he declared his choice in the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns. Often the decisions came through ignorance, or prejudice, or on the basis of conjecture, or on the desire to support tradition—or to reject it. Rational choices were often really irrational ones. To take one position was to be retrogressive; to take the other was to be progressive. To justify the former position was easy enough: the ancients had discovered the rules for reaching the absolutes; to follow them was to follow the absolute of nature. And while the latter position could be justified with the argument that the moderns had finally reached the absolutes in art which the ancients had missed, there was the spectre of relativism lurking around the corner. Once you cast doubt on the infallibility of the earliest extant writers in the western world², you cast doubt upon the infallibility of every age, even your own, which you must defend for egotistic reasons.

The quarrel of the ancients and the moderns was part of the so-called revival of learning. At the same time it was created by Italian and French disagreements about the relative merits of the classics and native literature. Alessandro Tassoni in the seventeenth century (*Pensieri Diversi*, 1612) placed both Ariosto and Tasso above Homer and Virgil. Later in 1635 the Frenchman François Boissier, one of the founders of the French Academy, attacked Homer before that body. All the important writers of the second half

¹ *Memoirs of Music*, ed. by Edward F. Rimbault (London, 1846), p. 91. The philosophies of the history of music are only incidental to the discussion of this paper, even though it is frequently apparent that historical and æsthetic opinions are intermixed and interdependent. The same point is thoroughly made in Warren Dwight Allen, *Philosophies of Music History* (New York, 1939).

² As a matter of fact, it is frequently supposed, and quite erroneously, that the first evaluation placed upon a work of art is the right one. Hence the reverence still persisting for Aristotle's dicta. Hence also Dryden's imitation of Aristotle in supposing that the earliest examples of a form are the examples upon which it is required that definitions be made. (See Dryden's definition of opera in his preface to *'Albion and Albanus'*, 1685.) Though one should respect or attend to the opinions of the authorities, past and present, yet no infallible authorities exist.

of the seventeenth century in France—including Racine, Fénelon, Huet, the Daciers, La Fontaine, Bossuet, La Bruyère—were defied as defenders of the ancients by Charles Perrault ('*Le Siècle de Louis le Grand*', 1687, and '*Parallèles entre les anciens et les modernes*', 1688-1697). Perrault's most devastating opponent was Boileau, his greatest ally Fontenelle. Meanwhile Charles Saint-Évremond, a French political exile in England, had brought the quarrel to England, where Sir William Temple, William Wotton and Jonathan Swift took up the important issue. Temple ('*Of Ancient and Modern Learning*', 1690) showed more heat than light in attacking the French moderns, modern science and modern literature. Wotton ('*Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*', 1694) took the part of the moderns. Swift ('*The Battle of the Books*', written 1697, published 1704) tried to come to the defence of Temple, who was his patron, and succeeded in being vituperative towards Temple's enemy Bentley ('*A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*', 1699), who in the entire quarrel had right on his side. Actually, the quarrel as it occurred in England stopped here, though it continued in France for some time. But the opposing ideas are everywhere in eighteenth-century English literature.

While the literary aspects of the quarrel subsided—or at least did not inspire the writing of complete works—the musical one came to life. This happened after the middle of the eighteenth century, no doubt because of the supposedly clear opposition between polyphony and homophony. The one represented the ancients, depending upon how one defined the term. The second clearly was modern and commonly preferred. But in music criticism, as in literary writing, the quarrel began on the Continent in the sixteenth century. Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590) defended the moderns and Vincenzo Galilei ('*Dialogo della musica antica e moderna*', 1581) defended the ancients. The musical aspect of the quarrel reached England in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Dr. John Wallis (1649-1703) took the mathematical scientist's position in favour of the moderns, and Isaac Vossius ('*De Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rhythmi*', 1673), a Dutch scholar who took his influence right to England by living there from 1670 onward, ascribed the efficacy of ancient music to its rhythm.

Temple and Wotton, like all literary men before the era of professionalism in the arts, felt themselves competent to take sides in the musical aspect of the quarrel. Temple's position was quite simple: since poetry had declined in modern times, so had music. (Like most of his contemporaries, he saw music as the handmaiden

of poetry.) Temple's evidence was the stories coming from ancient times of the effect of music (which were really stories about chanted poetry). All he saw in the music of his day were certain notes "that fell into the fancy or observation of a poor Frier in chanting his matins". Whether Temple refers to Guido d'Arezzo (c. 980-1050) and the solmization system or to any 'ignorant' monk in the Middle Ages one does not know. But apparently he felt that he had disposed of medieval music, and the music of his own day as well, once and for all.

William Wotton for several reasons took a position in approval of the moderns: modern musicians do not know or understand the works of ancient musicians; music has always had lasting charms, but the moderns have improved the music of the ancients wherever it was improvable; the perfection of ancient music has been demonstrated only by verbal accounts about Orpheus and Amphion, or by allegories interpreted, as Horace understood them, to show the reducing of a wild and savage people to regularity.³ Wotton even relied, as one eventually must in justifying æsthetic preferences in music, to technical matters. The ancients, he said, did not have so many "half-" and "quarter-notes" as does modern music. The resulting greater degree of rhythmic complexity in modern times has produced "an unspeakable [that is, indescribable] Variety into Modern *Musick*, more than could formerly be had: Because it is in Notes, as it is in Numbers [syllables]; the more of them there are, the more variously they may be combined together". Apparently Wotton was single-handedly creating an æsthetic principle, replacing neo-classical simplicity with complexity. While he thought that ancient music had everything that still affected modern hearers, he also saw that modern music would have seemed confused to the ancients—confused, intricate and unpleasant. But if complexity is a virtue in the arts, Wotton felt that the greater the apparent confusion, the greater pleasure does polyphony give the hearer skilled in unravelling the parts. (Or, one supposes, by analogy the greater pleasure does complicated poetry like Donne's or highly wrought poetry like Milton's give the reader. Could Wotton have been anticipating modern literary critics of the difficult-and-close-reading school?) To Wotton, who unwittingly saw as modern what his eighteenth-century followers were to see as ancient, compositions made up of interwoven melodic strands are made up of what is truly excellent in music.⁴

³ 'Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning' (London, 1694), pp. 283-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

Though the word 'democratic' was not in Wotton's vocabulary, he did indicate that ancient music was probably more democratic than modern. In the end, he said, the purpose of music is to please the audience, and since ancient music was sung in one part instead of many, it succeeded better than modern. Though the qualities by which ancient music probably charmed its audience are lost, the art of music itself is a more perfect thing than it was in ancient times despite the possibility of its being less pleasing to an unskilled audience.⁵ Thus Wotton set up a new principle in music criticism to defend modern music, he separated ancient and modern music clearly in time, he saw that there could be progressive achievement in an art of music though there might at the same time be a progressive narrowing of what is now called 'audience appeal', and he was on the whole fair within the limits of the learning of his time to both ancient and modern music. His eighteenth-century successors were not all to achieve as much.

By the time of the eighteenth century at least one term had run into semantic difficulties. The word 'modern' is always clear enough; no matter what period of time it covers (it may begin with the Renaissance, with the Enlightenment, with the Romantic Movement, or with the turn of the twentieth century), it always includes the man who uses it and his time. But in the eighteenth century the word 'ancient' had at least two meanings. It meant either (1) ancient Greece (or Rome, though Rome figured not at all as an element in the quarrel with reference to music), or (2) ancient Greece and what are now called (though they were not then so called) the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The music of ancient Greece had simplicity, and that of the Renaissance had complexity. Contrapuntalism was a characteristic of Renaissance-ancient, of course, and therefore it was possible to think of Johann Sebastian Bach as a learned follower of the ancients, just as Milton is sometimes thought today to have been a late Renaissance writer rather than one stylistically deriving from the Restoration. In the 'Treatise on the Art of Music' (1784) of William Jones a preference is expressed for a style "which is now called ancient", namely, that of 1200-1600.⁶ "Music antiquo-moderna", wrote Ephraim Chambers, the encyclopedist of England, using both terms for the equivocal period in the history of music, is that in use from Guido's time "to the beginning of the last century".⁷ The famous society for the propagation of ancient music directed by Dr. Pepusch was supposed to keep the

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁶ Introduction, p. iii.

⁷ 'Cyclopædia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences' (Dublin, 1782).

music of the preceding centuries from falling into oblivion. Probably deriving from the flood of Handel's popularity, it played music of the despised polyphonic past, not that of the classical ancients. In general, however, writers indicated which kind of ancient music they were thinking about. Occasionally there was ambiguity of meaning. When the Spanish Benedictine monk, critic and scholar Feyjoo mentions the "majesty and sweetness of ancient music" as compared with "the bustle and hurry of the modern"—that is, of the eighteenth century—one cannot be too sure of the meaning.⁸ Did not Dr. Burney point out that the classics of poetry, sculpture and architecture have no counterpart in music?⁹ And is it not a tribute to unreason that thinkers like Feyjoo and learned men like Richard Brocklesby ('Reflections on Ancient and Modern Music', 1749) could be judges of something they never had a chance and could never have a chance of knowing at first hand?

Feyjoo, for one, was letting his imagination run away with him. He was being romantic, as were many of his contemporaries, about the classical past. The concept of the Golden Age was alive, and the ridiculous extent to which it could affect men's thinking was nowhere more clearly shown than in an account in the *Monthly Review* of Burney's book of travels in France and Italy (1771), especially in the idea that "every part of the regions of science [has] long since been explored and cultivated" and that "almost every species of modern composition [furnishes] instances of identity or resemblance to the ancient productions"; therefore, it was thought, music mutters the same tale over and over again.¹⁰

Nothing expresses more clearly the ideals of eighteenth-century criticism than the worship of the ancients, for in the imaginative reconstruction of ancient life and art French, German and English thinkers found a reflection of their own thought. In a material and 'sensational' world, one in which there were no real gods and in which human psychology was beginning to be the core of philosophy, the Greeks served as gods as well as wise men. Greek civilization, as compared with modern, was healthy; of the earth, the Greeks were as earthy as the Enlightenment itself. To Herder in Germany, Greece was the cradle of civilization. To Schiller, Hellenism was to mean very nearly what it meant later to Matthew Arnold—intellect, moderation, clarity, strength. This is not to say that questions were never asked about the authority of the ancients. They were asked

⁸ Benito Geronimo y Montenegro Feyjoo, 'Essays, or Discourses', trans. from the Spanish by John Brett (London, 1780), ii, p. 326.

⁹ 'The Present State of Music in France and Italy' (London, 1771), pp. 33-5.

¹⁰ *Monthly Review*, xlv (1771), pp. 342-3.

because, as Friedrich Schlegel said, everyone found in the ancients what he needed or wanted, and above all himself. English travellers on the European Continent lost themselves in contemplation of ancient ruins, just as Gibbon lost himself in the ruins of Rome. Here was nature methodized; here were the rules, not made by man, but discovered by him; here were classical restraint and human dignity; here were the passions of men idealized. If one had difficulty with archaeology, he need only remember Greek literature. Greek art and art-forms, interpreted in eighteenth-century ways, were the realization of neo-classical principles as Winckelmann, Bielfeld, Vicesimus Knox and Sir Joshua Reynolds understood them. But while the art-works, the ruins and the literature were still discernible, the music could not be heard.

The interest in it prevailed, however, and its qualities were deduced from its supposed analogical relationship to art and literature. References to ancient art were always references to ancient authority. Men fall back in times of uncertainty on the dubious security of tradition. Thus the writer named Grassineau in the preface to his English translation (1740) of Brossard's 'Dictionary of Music' said that Aristoxenus and other Greek writers convince one that the ancient music of Greece excelled the modern music of Italy, the very music, if Grassineau was referring to homophony, which some writers thought to be a modern counterpart of ancient music in both form and style. But John Armstrong, a minor English writer who went under the pseudonym of 'Launcelot Temple', went into detail to show that the Italian music of his day (1758) in "trifling" with the ear was inferior to Welsh, Scottish and Irish ('native') music, which reached the heart and which were "as established as the ancient Classics" since they never became threadbare while they gave delight and rapture wherever they were heard.¹¹ The music of "these Islands" agrees in character with the music of the ancients because they both excel in simplicity and passion, two æsthetic ideals of the eighteenth century understood in specific neo-classical ways. And yet this trifling Italian music was often thought to be a revival of antique beauty. If a similarity to Greek music was a standard, then apparently 'native' music (if one liked native music) could be said to have such a similarity; so could Italian music, if one liked it; but Italian music, by the same standard, could be rejected, if one held it in contempt. One's own taste could decide what was really Greek in spirit, as Schlegel said. The spirit could fit every pattern or requirement.

¹¹ 'Sketches: or Essays on Various Subjects' (London, 1758), pp. 28-9.

Ancient music could be said to be superior for æsthetic reasons, then, or for reasons of personal preference. But there were historical, scientific and technical reasons as well. And each reason made up a subsidiary quarrel to the chief one.

The historical reason was not the music of the ancients, but the stories the ancients themselves told about the effects of their music. Plato and Aristotle and Plutarch, it could be supposed, knew at first hand what they wrote about when they described the effects of music. But it was certain myths like those of Orpheus and Amphion which really interested the eighteenth-century British gentleman. There were few writers, to be sure, who indicated a belief in these stories; but there were a few. And if the stories could be believed, they could be used to argue that ancient music was superior to modern, since modern music had not been known to produce effects equal to those of ancient music. But in general there was a kind of on-the-fence scepticism which ended eventually in the utter denial of the truth of the legends. Feyjoo distrusted the stories merely because they did not come from Holy Writ. Furthermore, he thought, the stories may be mere fables because no one telling them ever speaks as though he had witnessed the wonderful effects purporting to come from the performance of music; because the effects themselves may have come—if they did so—from something other than music; and because, though music may improve the disposition of the mind, it probably cannot eradicate diseases as it was said to do.¹² An anonymous writer in *The Gleaner* and *The Indian Observer* (1793) saw, as many writers did,¹³ that the effects of music were probably the effects of literature used as a medium for disseminating laws, inculcating morality, teaching history and inspiring men to their highest duties, such as following the precepts of religion and worshipping the gods.¹⁴ It is true that even in the eighteenth century the stories from ancient times did not seem very convincing. And yet mention was made of them as late as 1819 in Thomas Busby's 'History of Music', though the tone was one of scepticism—in itself a piece of evidence that the falsity of the stories was still not completely accepted. Because they existed, they might be true.

The scientific reasons were mixed up with history. The eighteenth century has been called the century of physics, as the nineteenth was one of evolution. The interest in physics revealed itself partly in the examination of the physical basis of sound. Therefore mathematicians had their fingers in the musical pie too. If scientists were

¹² *Op. cit.*, ii, pp. 358-65 & 331.

¹³ Feyjoo, Burney, Hawkins, William Mason and others.

¹⁴ *The Gleaner*, ed. by Nathan Drake (London, 1811), iv, p. 254.

interested in determining why musical tone is what it is, and why the organization of such tones is pleasing (not that they found real answers), the musician tried a reconstruction of his own. He felt that in reconstructing the Greek modes he was getting closer to Greek music itself. Sir Francis Stiles's 'An Explanation of the Modes or Tones in the Ancient Greek Music' (1760) was such a reconstruction, but called by a writer in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1760) "another intellectual, though voluminous attempt, after Meibomius and Wallis, to explain and restore the music of the ancients."¹⁵ But this was an attempt to reconstruct the system of musical notes in ancient times, just as one could reconstruct a temple in ruins, for the purpose of placing it in view for critical observation. There was another purpose—to recapture the lost pleasures (or effects) of the ancient modes. But practice was already deciding that issue. As early as 1618 Thomas Campion recommended the adoption of modern keys¹⁶ and the abandonment of the modal system. Men's preferences in art are not decided by history or science, and to reconstruct the Greek modal system was not to insure a readoption of that system.

But even modes were not everything. Musical composition is the organization of notes in patterns of pitch and rhythm, and on this matter of technique in music certain writers made obeisance to the ancient Greeks where obeisance was not due. When Tartini, as translated into English by Benjamin Stillingfleet (1771), said that his propositions were deduced from observation of that nature "common to the Greeks and us; and therefore are deduced from the first of all sources", he was speaking not only of his attempt at codifying harmony, but also of the problem of representing the passions in music. At the same time he was referring to the doctrine of neo-classicism that the good poet imitates nature, though if he imitates the ancients, he imitates nature too. Therefore a new question arose: Is nature to be imitated in harmony and counterpoint, and did the ancients know either harmony or counterpoint, or both? Superficially viewed, the question seems to be historical, but it is at least partly æsthetic, for how could modern composers be sure of their own respectability if they could not imitate the ancients, as other artists did every day? If to use harmony or counterpoint was to imitate nature, then the Greeks, who imitated nature in the first place, must have known them too. Since traditionalism is in part

¹⁵ xi, p. 485.

¹⁶ 'A New Way of Making Foure Parts in Counterpoint, by a most Familiar and Infalible Rule' (c. 1618; 2nd ed., 1655).

an attempt to justify that modern art which follows the tradition, an insistence upon the existence of harmony or counterpoint among the ancients was really a defence of modern practice. Tracing the history of rival opinions in this part of the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns is not a very fruitful occupation. Dr. John Brown, whose 'Dissertation' has been mentioned, said that there was no counterpoint among the ancients. Others sat on the fence, supposing that Greek counterpoint might have existed though it was lost by the time of Guido d'Arezzo.¹⁷ Thomas Twining, the late eighteenth-century translator of Aristotle's 'Poetics', said that the writings of Aristotle proved the absence of harmony and counterpoint in ancient days.¹⁸ And there the matter could very well rest.

It is one thing to defend the practice of ancient artists who apparently anticipated modern practice. It is another thing to defend the artists of the immediate past against whom contemporary art can be said to have reacted. It was one thing to say, like Shaftesbury, who merely followed Vossius, that ancient music was superior to modern¹⁹; it was another to admit a preference, as William Jones did, for the style "which is now called ancient" and to suggest that the art of music had deteriorated from the Golden Age of music made by Byrd, Tallis, Gibbon, Purcell and Croft, and ending with Handel.²⁰ A musical conservative could prefer the music of the Baroque to that of his time (Jones published in 1784) and call it ancient. He certainly had more to go on than did the defender of Greek music. But this second interpretation of the term 'ancient' came into being only after 1750. Between 1600 and 1750 the contrapuntal style was called modern. We have seen evidence of this in Wotton, and it appears also in the writing of Hildebrande Jacob (1734), who felt that the moderns surpass the ancients to such a degree that they may be said to have invented the art.²¹ Wotton's and Jacob's moderns were therefore Dr. Pepusch's and William

¹⁷ Feyjoo, ii, p. 318.

¹⁸ 'Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry Translated: with Notes on the Translation, and on the Original; and two Dissertations, on Poetical, and Musical, Imitation' (London, 1789), p. 56, n. f.

¹⁹ 'Characteristics of Men, Women, Opinions, Times', 4th ed. (London, 1727), iii, p. 263, n.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, introduction, p. iv. Jones frankly declared his dislike for modern composers whose "air" is in a single part and whose music is "like the St. Vitus Dance", because harmonies do not melt into one another but are "chopped in pieces" (p. 43). He found Haydn and Boccherini "desultory and unaccountable" in their manner of treating a subject (pp. 49-50); and he thought the fugue memorable because it "strikes the memory and judgment with its proportion and symmetry, while it amuses the fancy with Air, and fills the Ear with Harmony" (p. 49). The founding in 1741 of the Madrigal Society by a group of amateurs in London had kept Jones from being almost alone in his day as a defender of counterpoint.

²¹ 'Of the Sister Arts; an Essay' (London, 1734), p. 14.

Jones's ancients.

It was possible to keep the issues and the terminology clear. By the 'ancients' were usually meant the Greeks. If one wrote before 1750, one included the contrapuntal style in modern art, and therefore meant as 'modern' the music that derived from Guido d'Arezzo and included the date on which one wrote. Richard Brocklesby (1749) disagreed with both Temple and Vossius about the superiority of ancient music to modern. People have assumed, he said, that ancient music had the admired simplicity of ancient art and literature.²² He too suggested, as had Wotton, that the virtue of modern music lay in its complexity. If one wrote after 1750, one wrote about homophony usually, and 'modern' then included only 'the new music' beginning early in the seventeenth century in Italy. William Mason, the historian of church music,²³ and William Jackson, the composer, preferred modern music, and the latter described such music as gracefully uniting melody with harmony.²⁴

Greek worship had certainly been carried too far in the eighteenth century, as Hawkins implied.²⁵ His point of view, and the statement of Twining that "the time is come, when we no longer read the antients with our judgments shackled by determined admiration",²⁶ may seem to lack authority; yet Handel himself observed that, since the narrow bounds of ancient music are superseded, "I cannot see of what use the Greek Modes can be for modern music".²⁷ And Burney said that "the definitions, calculations, and reveries of Boethius, are not more useful or essential to the modern musician, than Newton's *Principia* to a dancer".²⁸ Thus the defence of ancient music, however defined, usually came from conservative academic men, whereas the defence of modern music came, as it might be expected to do, from musicians themselves, or from the men who represented them. The same defence came too from literary men who loved the art of their own time for what it was. They may have loved it merely because it belonged to their own time.

Though the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns subsumes an underlying quarrel about whether there has been progress in the arts or not, music critics in eighteenth-century England made no

²² 'Reflections on Antient and Modern Musick' (London, 1749), pp. 78-9.

²³ 'Works' (London, 1811), iii, pp. 293-4.

²⁴ 'The Four Ages' (London, 1798), p. 74.

²⁵ 'A General History of the Science and Practice of Music' (London, 1875), i, p. xxi.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, preface, p. xii.

²⁷ 'The Letters and Writings of George Frederic Handel', ed. by Erich H. Müller (London, 1935), pp. 10 and 81.

²⁸ 'A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period', ed. by Frank Mercer (New York, 1935), i, p. 430, n. x.

references specifically to the idea of progress. When they used the word 'progress', as Dr. John Brown did and as Charles Avison did, the meaning was similar to that of 'history' or 'chronology'. But progress as fact was everywhere either implied or questioned. The very supercilious attitude of the age towards all past ages was built upon a feeling of superiority, real or feigned, upon a feeling that culture had gone forward. If the ancients were superior, certain moderns were superior to the writers in the years between antiquity and the eighteenth century because they shared nature with the ancients themselves. If the moderns preferred polyphony, therefore, it was important to suggest that the ancients knew it also, so that the ancients and the moderns again could share nature. If one preferred the 'Italian' style, or homophony, as most people did, it was important to maintain that the music of the ancients was simple in the manner of Italian instrumental music or Italian opera. Thus it was possible to maintain that the moderns, no matter what one's preference, merely imitated the ancients, though that conclusion could only be a supposition, or a kind of extrapolation, the lack of evidence from ancient manuscripts being what it was. Progress here seemed circular; it was a return to a lost ideal. The out-and-out modern was indifferent to the possibility of a relationship between ancient and modern music. Indeed, he denied that such a relationship existed. He was the true believer in the idea of progress, as were Charles Perrault and Fontenelle when they first opposed the moderns to the ancients as their superiors. There were, then, two opposing positions: one was that the ancients were superior to the moderns; the second that the moderns were superior to the ancients. Any modern could compromise between the two by showing that the moderns of any musical type merely imitated the ancients. But the second position was the uncompromising one we are considering here.

Though Hawkins thought that music changes and declines at various periods and that taste changes²², and though Feyjoo in Spain had a notion of evolving forms similar to Goethe's²³, yet

²² *Op. cit.*, i, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi.

²³ *Op. cit.*, ii, pp. 332-8. Feyjoo pointed out that once the arts have reached their zenith or high point of perfection they decline, and that anyone who attempts to advance them commonly brings about a condition ending in their destruction. He believed that contemporary Italian music was going into a decline. His evidences of musical decay were three: the 'shortness' of the notes (as many as 64 to a bar); the frequent transitions from diatonic to the enharmonic and chromatic styles; and the excessive frequency of modulations. His terminology was in part incorrect. As he uses these terms, 'diatonic', 'enharmonic' and 'chromatic' refer to the *genera* of Greek music, about which he could have known only what he read; they did not refer to the Italian music of his day. He was merely using a common trick among learned men, that of employing terms obscurely to condemn artistic practice (as Professor Stoll possibly did in applying the term 'imitation' in the conventional sense to the work of James Joyce).

there were no suggestions that progress involved what was later called evolution. The eighteenth-century writer did not think in terms of forms 'rising' out of one another (it was impossible for him to do so as long as he entertained the theory of the great chain of being or the ladder of being); but he did think of a design something like a line rising steadily from a horizontal base. The eighteenth century in its pride (one thinks of William Jones²¹) called itself the Silver Age, or, more frequently, the Augustan Age, a term which suggests not only a high type of civilization and a high kind of art, but also a high point in human progress. It is well known that literary men spoke of their age as the Augustan. So did Burney ("the Augustan Age of music"²²); and in 1835 George Hogarth was still saying that the beginning of the eighteenth century was the Augustan Age of Italian music.²³

The result was that the moderns in the famous quarrel revealed a high self-esteem for their own age and a high derision for the ages immediately preceding the Augustan. The Shakespearean age preceded that of Dryden, Pope and Dr. Johnson. It is true that Shakespeare was a literary enigma, admired and often worshipped, though his work needed 'correcting'. And correcting it got, just as the barbaric or 'Gothic' was altered to meet the requirements of civilization. What the word 'Gothic' meant to the eighteenth century is well known.²⁴ Even in Germany a writer like Forkel (1749-1818) showed the eighteenth-century contempt for the 'Gothic' barbarities of earlier composers whose work, it may be supposed, he did not grasp. Rousseau anticipated modern historians by using the term 'Baroque' for the Gothic period in music. Modern historians use it not only to name a style, but also to designate a historical period. Rousseau used it as a term of contempt.

To Rousseau a 'baroque' music was a "rough music" whose "harmony is confused, filled with modulations and dissonances, its notes hard and unnatural, the intonation difficult, and the movement constrained."²⁵ Though he must have disliked complexity of any kind in music, it is polyphony that he apparently disliked most. Gothic, or barbaric, music and fugue were the same: Burney²⁶ once wrote of music "in the old stile, full of fuges upon hackneyed

²¹ *Op. cit.*, introduction, p. v.

²² 'History', ii, p. 232.

²³ 'Musical History, Biography, and Criticism', 2nd ed. (London, 1838), i, p. 216.

²⁴ A. E. Longueil, 'The Word "Gothic" in Eighteenth Century Criticism', *Modern Language Notes*, xxxviii, pp. 453 foll.

²⁵ 'Dictionary of Music', trans. from the French by William Waring (London, 1770), art. 'Baroque'.

²⁶ 'France and Italy', pp. 112-3.

subjects", a judgment only less severe than the definition of a fugue, reported in the *Monthly Review* (1800) as coming from Burney too, as a republican kind of composition where equality of importance subsists throughout.³⁷ Presumably nothing worse could be said by any eighteenth-century 'modern' gentleman about an art-form. Even calling it ancient was mild, and Sir William Jones (the orientalist, not the musician) in the same spirit called fugues, counterfugues and 'divisions' a disgrace rather than the adornment of modern music.³⁸ Polite life did not approve of what was too complicated.

There may be no disputing tastes, but few things are more amusing than the reasons people give for their tastes. Following the lead of Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) in Germany, many Europeans expressed a dislike for counterpoint, and the reasons given did not much differ from country to country. We have already noticed Rousseau's, Burney's and Sir William Jones' objection to counterpoint as too complicated. But there were others: that it was immoral, and that it did not come up to the requirements of musical expression. It was the composer William Jackson who used the moral argument, but he used as an especially abominable example the catch, the cult of which in his day seemed to mean a reversion to barbarous times. The Catch Club, founded in 1761, had indeed performed a disservice to English taste. Before Henry VIII, Jackson explained, music was even more barbarous than it was in the sixteenth century. Tallis, Byrd, Morley and Farrant "had more choice in their harmony, and made some little advances in melody", but their music, crowded with parts, is so awkwardly barbarous that its performance is impossible, "so natural is it, even in the infancy of art, to mistake difficulty for beauty".³⁹ The catch was brought to perfection by Purcell, "real music [being] as yet in its childhood".⁴⁰ Jackson shows that counterpoint (the catch is only his whipping-boy) is both too complicated and immoral. But there is a technical basis for his objection too: he declared that the excellence of the catch must be either its harmony or its melody, or its effect in performance.⁴¹ He must have been thinking of Charles Avison's (1752) triple principle of harmony, melody and expression as the basis of music. The catch, Jackson insisted, had none of these elements. But he was adopting a patently unfair method of judging art: he judged one

³⁷ Review of Kollman's 'Essay on Practical Musical Composition', *Monthly Review*, xxi (1800), pp. 127-31.

³⁸ 'The Works of Sir William Jones' (London, 1799), iv, p. 559.

³⁹ 'Thirty Letters on Various Subjects', 3rd ed. (London, 1795), p. 64.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-7.

type of art (the contrapuntal) in terms of another (the homophonic), just as poetry was often judged in terms of its correspondence with the supposedly Aristotelian rules for drama. Thus Jackson felt that modern homophonic music came closer than 'ancient' polyphony to meeting the absolute principles of simplicity and clarity, goodness and proper form.

As early as 1618 Campion had rejected counterpoint because it was an art of the past. The quarrel of the ancients and the moderns therefore existed before it was defined. But only in the eighteenth century did polyphony get the epithet 'learned', however inexplicable the identity of the learned and the Gothic and the barbaric might be. Its opposite in England was the 'polite', in France and Germany the *galant*. "Learned and ingenious compositions we have in abundance", wrote Stillingfleet, "such as make a very handsome appearance upon paper: but they are forgotten as soon as the performance is over".⁴³ The resourceful Burney two years later wrote that C. P. E. Bach spoke scornfully of learned music and of composers (his father among them) who wrote such music.⁴⁴

The kind of progress in the background of the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns was 'closed', and can be exemplified by Aristotle's statement that after a long series of changes tragedy attained its natural form and then stopped. There is a similar suggestion as regards the music of the pipe in Horace's 'Ars poetica'. The implied doctrine of progress in eighteenth-century English music criticism was based upon æsthetic preferences. Did the ancients know music as the moderns do? An answer in the affirmative flattered modern music as an imitation of the ancient; after a series of changes, it suggested, music attained its natural form in the eighteenth century and then stopped. An answer in the negative flattered eighteenth-century music as an advance over that of the ancients, however defined. Again music reached its natural form in the eighteenth century and then stopped. Did the ancients know counterpoint? The answer, though eagerly sought, was of little value, except that if one preferred simplicity, a negative answer was consoling, and if one preferred complexity, a positive one was enlightening. Even the answer to the question of what were the actual modes of the Greeks had little relevance to progress: had not the true system of nature been found in the diatonic scale and had not the true system of harmony been set down by Rameau and

⁴³ Benjamin Stillingfleet, 'The Principles and Power of Harmony' (London, 1771), p. 51.

⁴⁴ 'The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces' (London, 1773), ii, p. 251.

Tartini just as Newton had set down the laws of nature? The Great Advance had indeed been made, and progress was a reality. Now the fruit was ripe. Progress was complete. It does not matter which metaphor one chooses. Eighteenth-century music—and this meant usually the 'Italian' style and Italian opera—was the culmination of a long history of music, much of which represented error. The proper and natural harmonic system had been determined—that is, discovered, not invented—finally, once and for all.

There is a comment by the Scottish writer Alexander Malcolm which is interesting not only because it probably expresses the opinion of most people who think the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns an argument about trivialities, but also because Malcolm came half-way between Sir William Temple and Burney. He intended to answer the one, and he anticipated the historical writing of the other. Malcolm's language reflects his impatience: the contenders in the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, he says, "fight at long Weapons, I mean they keep the argument in *generals*, by which they make little more of it than some innocent Harrangues and Flourishes of Rhetoric".⁴⁴ His contemporary Roger North held the thoroughly defensible view that the difference between ancient and modern music cannot be reconciled because in criticism "there is no criterion for better or worse, and men determine upon fancy and prejudice, and not upon intrinsic worth".⁴⁵ Both Malcolm and North referred to generally æsthetic matters, the former believing them to be ineffective in argument and the latter believing them to have their source not in æsthetic values but in the accidents of time and place. Indeed, the entire quarrel of the ancients and the moderns reveals how much æsthetic judgments, which are supposedly judgments of intrinsic value, depend upon environmental pressures. Just as today's student of modern literatures and languages would have studied the Greek and Roman classics fifty years ago, just as the present-day American musicologist might have consoled himself with the study of 'philology' thirty years ago, so one's position in the quarrel depended (as it still depends, the quarrel in great part still being with us) on the pressures of home, college, state, nation and culture, and only occasionally on that apparent independence with which most critics try to make æsthetic judgments.

The quarrel, as I have just said, is in great part still with us. The moderns are the *avant-garde*, who must be in advance of some-

⁴⁴ 'A Treatise of Musick, Speculative, Practical, and Historical' (Edinburgh, 1721), p. 570.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

thing. The ancients are frequently academic men, except for those who are 'emancipated' and 'enlightened' enough to see the past only as a burden to the present. The quarrel, yesterday as well as today, is between learning and creating, between the dead (or their champions) and the living, between old traditions and new ones just in the making. The quarrel is more important in art than in science because old forms of art are not really dead, while old 'facts' may be erroneous, better dead, best forgotten. In art the traditional often still lives, probably even more vigorously than the new. Verdi is more alive today than Deems Taylor. An 'ancient' can live a long time, and the question of his being 'better' or 'worse' than the moderns *per se* is often irrelevant, just as the doctrine of progress, an intimate and not separate part of the quarrel, is really irrelevant too. With respect to progress in the arts one may choose one of three views: (1) art progresses, (2) art retrogresses, (3) art does not progress (and since a belief in retrogression is only the reverse of a belief in progress, art does not retrogress either). The third is the only defensible position: in terms of progress 'Antigone' is neither worse nor better than 'King Lear'; Monteverdi's 'Orfeo' is neither better nor worse than Gluck's. They are merely different as representatives of their authors and the ages in which the authors lived. In terms of beauty there may be degrees among these works, but on the heights of art only the as-yet-unborn Plato whose knowledge of the real can be translated into human terms can pass comparative judgment.

The history of old quarrels helps to define the issues in new ones, and this is what an examination of the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns does. And it does so particularly because it cuts across specialist lines. Having been studied in recent years chiefly in its literary aspects, it was an issue in the criticism of music, as we have seen, and of painting as well. The quarrel occurs wherever there is an issue of the 'classical' versus the modern—classical economics *versus* dynamic versions of economic study, history as 'closed' *versus* history as development into the future, history as the narrative of 'fact' *versus* history as a growing art reflected in historiography. In the quarrel as it affected music historians, physicists, mathematicians, medical men (did ancient music really cure diseases? they asked) and musicians themselves all played a part. That such a variety of professional men should have contributed to the quarrel says next to nothing about their understanding of music. But it does show that writings about music are part of European culture and that they share in the perennially important question of the relationship of the long past of the history of art with the recent present.

BACH'S 'FIAUTI D'ECHO'

BY THURSTON DART

AT THE head of his score of the fourth Brandenburg concerto Bach wrote 'Concerto 4^{to} à Violino Principale, due Fiauti d'Echo, due Violini, una Viola è Violone in Ripieno, Violoncello è Continuo'. The identities of the stringed instruments and the harpsichord are clear enough (although we do not always observe in performance Bach's implied direction that the work is chamber music, to be played by one player to a part), but what instruments did he mean to indicate by the words 'Fiauti d'Echo'? The phrase occurs nowhere else in his music. In Bach's usage, as in that of all the composers of his time, there is never any ambiguity in the general naming of the two families of flutes. The family of transverse flutes is always described by some such term as 'German flute', 'flauto traverso', 'traversa' or 'traversière', whereas the simple term 'fiauto' ('flauto', 'flute', 'flûte') invariably denotes a fipple-flute, most commonly the treble recorder. In discussions of the fourth Brandenburg, therefore, 'Fiauti d'Echo' has been taken to mean treble recorders with an especially soft tone, pitched in F or G, and sounding at the written pitch of the music. Since Bach's nomenclature is very precise, perhaps it is time to look into the question more closely. In the history of musical instruments, modifying phrases such as 'd'echo' or 'da gamba' are often powerful enough to effect a change in basic instrumental families. A 'viola' is a kind of violin, but a 'viola da gamba' is a kind of viol; a 'tromba' is a trumpet, but a 'tromba marina' is a monochord played in harmonics; a 'horn' is a brass instrument, but an 'English horn' is neither English nor made of brass; a 'flauto' is a recorder, but a 'flauto traverso' is a flute. In all these instrumental pairs the names are similar, yet the families are entirely different. It is possible, therefore, that a 'flauto d'echo' was neither a recorder nor a transverse flute but a member of some other family of flute-like instruments.

'Flauti d'echo' do not seem to be mentioned in dictionaries, tutors and similar documents of the first half of the eighteenth century, and I have not found the phrase in the scores of Handel, Vivaldi or Rameau. But Dr. Michael Tilmouth has been kind enough to allow me access to his calendar of musical references found in English newspapers published between 1660 and 1720. This calendar

is due to be published by the Royal Musical Association in its 'Research Chronicle', and among its many hundreds of items are a number of references to the 'echo flute'. All of these are associated with concerts given by James Paisible during the decade 1710 to 1720. Paisible was a musician and composer of some merit, who spent most of his working life in England. Born in France about 1650, by 1674 he had become a recorder-player in the King's Musick; until his death in 1721 he continued to live in London, taking an active part in its concert life and composing a great many dances, sets of theatre music, and sonatas for the recorder. Famous above all as a recorder virtuoso, he appears to have introduced the 'echo flute' for the first time in 1713; but the files of newspapers of this period are seldom complete, and there may well have been earlier announcements of the instrument. For the next five years Paisible seems to have made the 'echo flute' a special attraction at all his more important concerts. After 1718 the term ceases to appear in the newspapers; so does the name of Paisible, who was by this time an old man looking forward to a well-earned retirement:

Many of Paisible's colleagues or rivals on the London musical scene similarly had their own specialities, and newspaper announcements rarely failed to mention these as an added attraction of the concert. The 'mock trumpet' was a novelty of the late 1690's. The transverse flute was a speciality of de Latour from 1707 onwards. The arch-lute was reserved to the younger Dean (1707), the mandoline and theorbo to Conti (1707), the viola d'amore to Attilio Ariosti (1717), and an 'Instrument of an Invention entirely New, Imitating the Harp and Lute' to 'Mrs. Margarita [de l'Épine]', who first demonstrated it in 1714. Newspaper advertisements, then, can be a fairly reliable guide to the approximate date at which a new instrument was first introduced, and they can also indicate with some precision the years during which it remained a fashionable novelty. But in the nature of things they cannot always identify the instrument exactly to a reader of our own day, however well the term was understood at the time the newspaper was first published. For additional evidence it is necessary to turn to the musical scores of the period, to publishers' catalogues, and to surviving specimens of the instruments themselves. Most of the new instruments were on sale in the music shops soon after they first appeared in the concert hall, provided that they were not too eccentric, too difficult or too expensive for the average musician. Music publishers were always alert to the changing currents of fashion, many of which they had themselves set in motion, and if a new instrument showed signs of

catching the public's fancy they were quick to print suitable tutors and tune-books. These were often hasty re-issues of material already in stock, furbished with new fingering charts and a catch-penny title. By 1704 Wilder was advertising his mock trumpets as 'Sold at most Musick-Shops in London', and Walsh had already printed three different books of tunes for the instrument. As early as 1720 Walsh cashed in on the rising popularity of the transverse flute (first heard in London in 1707) by advertising all his old stock of recorder music as though it had just been published, brand-new, for the flute. By 1728 Ariosti's elaborate and difficult sonatas for the viola d'amore were on sale in the music shops, with an effusively snobbish dedication to King George II; yet the instrument's first appearance in England had occurred only eleven years previously.

If the 'echo flute' enjoyed a good run of popularity between 1713 and 1718, then, we should expect to find tune-books and tutors for it published at some time during the period from 1710 to 1725 or so. But there are none. Perhaps the general public preferred to call it something else. For instance, on very few title-pages at this time was the recorder called the recorder; the man in the street knew it by the name 'flute', and that was the word chosen by worldly-wise publishers. The little clarinet in D, ancestor of our modern clarinet, was known on the continent as the 'clarinelle' or 'chalumeau', but to the London public (and therefore to Playford and Walsh) it was the 'mock trumpet'. What was advertised for the first time in 1707 as a novelty called the 'Flute Aleman' or 'Flute d'Almain' had by 1712 settled down as the 'German flute', a name which it retained among amateur musicians for a hundred years. For the decade we are concerned with there is one and only one instrument of the fipple-flute kind which sweeps into sudden popularity in England, and that is the improved French flageolet.

Invented by the Sieur de Juvigny, the flageolet made its first appearance at the Louvre in 1581, when it was one of the instruments heard in the spectacular ballet presented by Louise of Lorraine upon the occasion of the marriage of her sister with the Duc de Joyeuse. In origin it was a shepherd's pipe, the tiny 'larigot' (more properly, 'Pharicot'), and a good illustration of it is to be found in Mersenne, who also prints a four-part 'Vaudeville pour les Flageollets'. The best discussion of its history and development is to be found in Christopher Welch's 'Six Lectures on the Recorder' (Oxford, 1911). The flageolet, like the recorder, was sounded with a whistle mouthpiece, but the disposition of its finger-holes (four for the fingers, one for each thumb) was quite different, and its sound

was much softer and more delicate. To English musicians of the seventeenth century it was by no means unknown, and a long series of tutors for it was published, beginning at least as early as 1657 and continuing until about 1690. The most famous of these tutors was Greeting's 'Pleasant Companion', which seems to have run into no fewer than eight editions between its first appearance in 1661 and its last in 1688. Most of the tutors used the curious 'dot-way' notation—a form of tablature on a six-line stave, each line standing for a finger-hole—and most players seem to have been amateurs, presumably unfamiliar with staff notation. Pepys was one of many who were mightily taken with the flageolet, and Welch quotes about twenty-five relevant entries from his diary; there may well be others. These entries show that Pepys was quite unable to resist playing on his flageolet whenever he encountered a good echo, and he also delighted in the softness of the instrument ("my new little flageolet that is so soft that it pleases me mightily"). But to professional musicians this seventeenth-century flageolet can have been little more than a toy. Its 'dot-way' notation was cumbrous and amateurish, its tone was weak, its scale was defective, and its very narrow bore soon clogged up with moisture condensed from the player's breath. Moreover, well-born amateur flageolettists must have been put out when even their household staff took to playing the very same instruments. As Hudgebut remarked in his recorder tutor of 1679, "the *Flagilet* sinks down, a *Servant* to the Pages and Footmen" and the recorder is "much more in Esteem and Veneration, with the Nobility and Gentry". Snob and mob seldom like the same kind of music. Everyone who was anyone henceforward played the recorder, and the flageolet passed steadily out of use from 1680 onwards.

Thirty years later the flageolet suddenly and rather surprisingly returned to fashion. In the *Daily Courant* for 15 December 1708 Walsh announced the publication of a new book, 'The Flagelet Reviv'd; or, The Bird Fancier's Delight: Being a new Plain and easy Introduction to Play on the Flagelet'. Though no copy of this book is known to exist today, an entry in Walsh's catalogue of November 1709 ('A Book for the Flagelet Gamut way') suggests that the tutor used staff-notation. No instrument stands much chance of being successfully 'reviv'd' unless the defects that once caused it to go out of fashion have been remedied. The 'new' flageolet of the early eighteenth century was a great improvement on its seventeenth-century predecessor, as we can tell from surviving specimens. The various improvements were probably worked out by the great French

family of instrument-makers, the Hotteterres, who modified and improved nearly every other wind instrument during the second half of the seventeenth century, including the recorder, the transverse flute, the oboe, the bassoon and the musette. Technical changes in the shape of the bore and the positioning of the finger-holes gave the new flageolet a fully chromatic scale of two octaves. To its wind-way was added a curious extension, containing a little sponge to soak up the moisture from the player's breath before it reached the sounding part of the instrument. This device cured any tendency for the whistle and shaft to clog up, and it remained a feature of the flageolet until its extinction at the end of the nineteenth century. The voicing of the instrument was refined and improved, though the narrow bore of the shaft meant that the flageolet's tone was still exceedingly soft and delicate.

In 1717 Meares and Walsh published rival editions of 'The Bird Fancier's Delight, or Choice Observations, and Directions Concerning y^e Teaching of all Sorts of Singing-birds, after y^e Flagelet & Flute, if rightly made as to Size & tone' (see Stanley Godman's new edition, published by Schott). From the famous encyclopedia of Diderot and d'Alembert we learn that these new French instruments were made in two sizes, the little bird-flageolet and the somewhat larger flageolet. In Welch's translation (p. 54 of his book),

the bird-flageolet . . . is composed of two portions which take apart; one, the flageolet proper, composed of the mouth and the canal pierced with holes, the other, the wind-passage, formed of a small tube and a pretty large cavity in which is enclosed a little sponge which allows the air to pass but retains the moisture of the breath . . . The great flageolet only differs from the preceding in not having an air-passage, and in being beaked and all in one piece. . . . Both the flageolets have the same fingering, and all that we are about to say is common to both, except that the sounds of the bird-flageolet are lighter, more delicate, have less body, and are listened to with greater pleasure: it is called the bird-flageolet because it was used for whistling canaries, linnets, and other birds before the bird-organ (*serinette*) was employed, which is less perfect but saves much trouble.

No one knows the origin of this strange craze for teaching caged birds to whistle the latest songs and dances, but there is evidence to show that during the first twenty years of the eighteenth century the fashion suddenly rose to unprecedented popularity among all classes of society in all parts of Europe. Composers seem to have been eager to make use of the new flageolets, which—as Diderot and d'Alembert point out—were made in two sizes. The larger flageolet

was the true *flute-à-bec* or beaked flute, usually pitched in D (an octave above the flute and a tone higher than the descant recorder); it was the ancestor of the instruments made by Bainbridge during the early nineteenth century. The smaller flageolet was the slim bird-flageolet, usually pitched a fourth higher still, in G, with an extremely soft tone; most bird-flageolets were made of ivory, but occasionally silver seems to have been used instead. A bird scene was a special feature of Handel's 'Rinaldo', first produced at the Queen's Theatre on 24 February 1711 and mockingly reviewed ten days later by Addison in *The Spectator*. Though the sparrows, wrote Addison, "flew in Sight, the Musick proceeded from a Consort of Flageletts and Birdcalls which was planted behind the Scenes." In his masterly study of Handel's dramatic oratorios and masques, Mr. Winton Dean points out (p. 77) that

in the air 'Augelletti che cantate' in 'Rinaldo', while the conducting score marks the first of the three recorder [*flauto*] parts *flauto piccolo*, the autograph has *Flageolett*. . . Rameau used flageolets for bird-effects in 'Platée' (1749), and they occur in operas by Gluck and Mozart. . . Pepusch's 'Venus and Adonis' [1715], which was almost certainly the model for 'Acis and Galatea' [1718], contains an air similar to 'Hush, ye pretty warbling choir' with an obbligato for *Flagelletto*. And Welch reports a strong tradition that the flageolet was used in London performances of 'Acis and Galatea' from Handel's day well into the nineteenth century.

Addison's review leads one to conclude that in 'Rinaldo' Handel used the term 'flauto' to mean the larger beaked flute or flageolet, and the terms 'Flageolett' and 'flauto piccolo' to mean the bird-call or bird-flageolet. Pepusch composed a flageolet concerto performed as an interlude in the 1717 revival of 'Camilla', and Handel used 'flauti piccoli' in his 'Water Music' of the same year. In his despatch to Berlin describing the 'Water Music' the Prussian Resident in London called the latter instruments 'French flutes' (i.e. flageolets), and the Barrett Lennard score shows that Handel treated them as transposing instruments, sounding an eleventh higher than written.

Disentangling all this information is not easy, but it seems to me that we can come to one or two fairly firm conclusions. Handel seems to have made speedy use of the new flageolet in both its sizes, referring to it in 'Rinaldo' (1711) as 'flauto' and 'flauto piccolo'. He used the flageolet again in the 'Water Music' (1717) and in 'Acis and Galatea' (1718), treating it as an instrument transposing either an octave or an eleventh above its written pitch. Moreover, the set of six *concerti grossi* published by Walsh in 1734 as Handel's Op. 3 are considered to date from his time at Cannons. Although the third

of these *concerti* was published as for 'Flauto traverso od Oboe', could it in fact have been composed for the flageolet (which by 1734 was almost out of fashion)? Experience shows that it is wholly ineffective as a flute concerto, and it is quite unidiomatic for the oboe. But all its defects of balance (including the curious passages where the flute doubles the violins at the lower octave, or those where it is completely submerged by the *ripieno*) are corrected at one stroke if the flute part is transposed up an octave by being played on a flageolet.¹ The same argument applies to the obbligato in 'O ruddier than the cherry'. If the *flauto* part is played at pitch it is wholly inaudible; but if we observe the eighteenth-century tradition that it was played on a flageolet sounding an octave higher than written, then every part of the music falls into place and Handel's reputation as an outstandingly successful orchestrator is unimpaired. Further instances of his use of the flageolet are to be found in 'Riccardo Primo' (1727) and 'Alcina' (1735).

Pepusch and Handel, then, appear to have written quite a number of works making use of the flageolet in one or other of its two sizes. Many of these scores were composed during the decade from 1710 to 1720, and in them the instrument is variously named 'flageolett', 'flagelletto', 'flauto piccolo' or (in 'Rinaldo' and 'Acis') plain 'flauto'. Flageolet tutors were published in 1708 and 1717, and a number of surviving instruments of this period are to be found in museums and other public or private collections. If we now turn to the concert advertisements appearing in newspapers of the time, we encounter a somewhat different set of names: 'octave flute' (21 November 1712: unnamed player), 'echo flute' (24 March 1713; 26 April 1714; 2 November 1715; 11 March 1717; 21 December 1717; 10 March 1718: always played by Paisible), 'small echo flute' (22 December 1718: Paisible once more), 'flageolet' (2 January 1717: unnamed player), 'little flute' (2 December 1718: unnamed player; 2 January 1719: Baston's brother; 6 May 1719: Kitch, the oboist). 'Little flute' is an exact translation of 'flauto piccolo', and 'octave flute' is apt enough for the flageolet, which usually transposed up an octave. But Paisible's 'echo flute' and 'small echo flute' remain in doubt and we cannot yet prove that the terms were synonyms for 'flageolet', despite the instrument's great popularity. Even if (as I believe) they were, it is not easy to imagine how Bach could have heard of these new instruments in distant Cöthen.

Bach is thought to have composed the Brandenburg concertos

¹ A new edition of the work, arranged as a concerto for descant recorder, strings and continuo, is in preparation.

at Cöthen during the years 1718 to 1721; his dedication to the Margrave Christian Ludwig is dated 24 March 1721. As Bessler has pointed out, Bach almost undoubtedly played before the Margrave in Berlin during the autumn of 1718; and we have already noted an elaborate and detailed account of the 'Water Music', given by the Prussian Resident in London to his master in Berlin. The Resident's report is dated 19/30 July 1717. Such tenuous evidence proves nothing, but Dr. Tilmouth's file provides some hitherto unnoticed musical links between Berlin and London during the first two decades of the eighteenth century, and the strong dynastic and political links between the two capitals are often forgotten. Christian Ludwig (1677-1734) was the brother of Frederick I, first King of Prussia, who died in 1713. Frederick's queen, Sophia Charlotte, was the sister of George of Hanover, who became King George I of England in 1714, and George's son married the Margrave's sister, Caroline. Moreover, the redoubtable Electress Sophia—mother of King George I of England, mother-in-law of King Frederick I of Prussia, and aunt by marriage of the Margrave of Brandenburg—was an enthusiastic bird-fancier. During the last years of her life her principal hobby was her collection of trained singing-birds, among them more than forty canaries.

Burney² quotes Telemann as saying that music

was extremely honoured and cherished at Berlin in the beginning of the present century, at which time he heard two operas of John Bononcini performed there. . . . A princess sang, and the Queen Sophia Charlotte herself accompanied her, while the orchestra swarmed with great professors, among whom were Attilio Ariosti, the two Bononcini's, Antonio and John, with Fedeli, and Conti.

All these men turned up in London later on, principally because King Frederick's successor (King Frederick William I of Prussia, nephew of the Margrave and of King George I) disliked music and dismissed nearly all his father's musicians. Some of these men seem to have been taken on by the Margrave, although he was never able to afford a large musical establishment, but most of them sought employment elsewhere. Bessler has been able to find out almost nothing about the musicians who served the Margrave between 1710 and 1720, but he points out that there were only six musicians on the Margrave's staff when he died in 1734. Dr. Tilmouth's file comes up with a most unexpected piece of information, however. In the issue of *The Daily Courant* dated 17 May 1716 there is an advertisement for a concert to be given at Hickford's Room on 21 May: "a Compleat

² 'A General History of Music', ed. Frank Mercer, ii, p. 944.

Consort . . . by the best Masters of the Opera" for the benefit of "Signior Giorgio Giacomo Besivillibald, Servant to His Serene Highness the Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, Brother to H.R.H. Princess of Wales [Caroline of Brandenburg-Anspach]".

Although it is impossible at present to penetrate the Italianate disguise adopted by 'Signior Giacomo Besivillibald', the implications of the advertisement are very great. Such benefit concerts were given only for a musician of some consequence, and if the musician was in regular employment abroad he was usually at the head of his employer's musical staff. For instance, Pepusch's brother, Godfrede Pepusch, was principal musician to King Frederick I of Prussia; in 1704 he came to London, bringing with him seven young German musicians. During their stay Godfrede and his associates gave benefit concerts for themselves on "Hautboys, Flutes and German Horns" (3 April 1704) and "Hautboys, Flutes and Hunting Horns" (31 May 1704). During the next twelve years many other German-speaking musicians visited London, among them Handel himself, Greber (teacher of Margarita de l'Épine), 'The Baroness', Thornowitz, Schrider and Kitch. The Margrave of Brandenburg's musician, 'Signior Besivillibald', had to postpone his benefit concert for nearly three weeks, but it finally took place on 9 June 1716. Since the fashion for the new-fangled flageolet was then approaching its height, since Besivillibald could hardly have failed to be in contact with expatriate German musicians living in London, since his benefit was put on by "the best Masters of the Opera" (among whom had for some years been James Paisible, John Christopher Pepusch and Handel himself), and since the opera was at that moment rehearsing Handel's 'Amadigi', the fourth concerto from his Op. 3 and another 'Symphony', we are confronted with some very unexpected possibilities. Professional musicians have always thrived on gossip, they have always liked new gadgets, and they have always collected souvenirs, whether these be ashtrays, concert-programmes or pocket-sized flageolets. If Besivillibald took a couple of the bird-flageolets back with him to Berlin, he could have counted on their being welcome gifts for his music-loving employer; and two years after his return to Berlin, with or without bird-flageolets, Besivillibald would have been one of those who joined with Bach in performing chamber music for the Margrave.

Some final and less speculative considerations arise from the music itself. To me these are very strong arguments indeed. Even when the *ripieno* parts of the fourth Brandenburg concerto are played by single instruments—after having been fortunate enough to take

part in many performances of this work, I have no doubt that this was Bach's intention—and even if the solo violinist does his best to play his exceptionally brilliant part as softly as he can, the inescapable fact remains that the gentle sounds of two treble recorders are quite inaudible during a considerable part of the work. Their stretto and final entries of the fugue subject in the last movement (bars 225 and 239) can never be heard, yet the musical structure shows that these are intended to be the climax of the fugue. In the first movement their delicate canonic echoes of the *ripieno* strings (bars 197-208) are overlaid by the ripienists, and well-nigh obliterated by the scurrying demi-semiquavers of the solo violin. The rich harmonies of the slow movement are marred by the ungrammatical $\frac{4}{4}$ chords sounded by the three soloists in bars 7, 8 and 12, and there are other awkward clashes in the part-writing. Elsewhere in Bach's music (for instance, in the motets, or in the suite in B minor for solo flute, strings and continuo) such apparent falls from grace can always be accounted for by an implied doubling of the bass line at the lower octave. But they cannot be rectified in this way in the fourth Brandenburg concerto, though in his version of the work as a harpsichord concerto in F major Bach corrected them by changing the part-writing. The only solution to all the problems encountered in the Brandenburg concerto is to assume that the *flauto d'echo* parts sounded an octave higher than written. The obvious instrument for such a transposition would be the little bird-flageolet in G, which can with accuracy be described as an 'echo [fipple] flute'. If this solution is accepted, every problem is solved, all grammatical difficulties disappear, and Homer does not nod.* Such transpositions will also eliminate all problems of balance between the various parts of the ensemble, and they will add brilliant high entries to the fugue just where these are needed.

To put forward such a suggestion about one of Bach's best-loved works is to ask for trouble, of course, since it would revolutionize our whole conception of the colour and texture of the concerto. Equally revolutionary suggestions for the performance of Brandenburg No. 1 have not met with universal approbation, though my

* One nod remains. Bird-flageolets were in G; consequently the low F in bar 183 of the first movement is outside the compass of the instrument. But it is heartening to discover that in the other version of the concerto this apparent oversight has been remedied by an upwards transposition of the offending passage. It is encouraging, too, to note that in this version of the work the wind parts are described as for 'due flauti à bec'. Once again the nomenclature is unique; but Diderot and d'Alembert incline one to believe that a 'flûte-à-bec' was not a recorder but the larger of the two kinds of flageolet, which possessed a characteristic 'beak'. If this is true, then these parts also should sound an octave higher than written.

reasons for believing that the 'corni di caccia' were octave-transposing 'Jagdhörner' remain unshaken. For both concerti the evidence for these suggestions is at present less substantial than I could wish; it rests essentially on delicate and disputable points of instrumental nomenclature, and these are made even more delicate and disputable by Bach's evident desire to use as much Italian as he could. But for neither concerto, I think, can one dismiss out of hand the idea that some of the instruments may have sounded an octave higher than their notation would at first lead us to suppose. We are familiar enough with similar octave-transpositions in Bach's bass lines, for we all know that a contrabass transposes down an octave. Yet there is nothing in Bach's notation to indicate this transposition. His treble lines must now be examined with an equally open mind, and I hope that it may not be too long before there is an opportunity of hearing the fourth Brandenburg concerto with the soft yet audible sounds of the octave bird-flageolet in place of the sweet but inaudible tones of the treble recorder.

THE TRUMPET VOLUNTARY

By

CHARLES CUDWORTH & FRANKLIN B. ZIMMERMAN

THE tercentenary of Purcell's birth has afforded an excellent opportunity to summarize the known facts about the so-called 'Trumpet Voluntary' which we now know was composed by his younger contemporary Jeremiah Clarke. Year by year the evidence for Clarke's authorship grows stronger, while Purcell's claim recedes. There is no authentic evidence for the Purcellian attribution, whereas a firm ascription to Clarke appears in at least four early sources; there are also several anonymous sources.

The most important of the printed sources is 'A Choice Collection of Ayres for the Harpsichord or Spinett' (London, 1700), in which the piece appears on page 13 as 'The Prince of Denmark's March by M^r Clarke' (see the reproduction opposite). The publisher, John Young, was unusually careful in affirming the genuineness of all the pieces in this 'Collection', stating categorically that he had received all the items from the composers themselves (they included Blow, Piggott, Barrett and Croft, as well as Clarke himself, but no members of the Purcell family). There are in all six tunes by Clarke in the 'Collection'. The next printed source also names Clarke as the composer, and again gives the title as 'The Prince of Denmark's March'; it is Walsh's 'The Third Book of the Harpsichord Master Being a Collection of Choice Lessons with Song Tunes and Town Ayres fitted for the Harpsichord or Spinnett' (London, 1702). Purcell's name is mentioned in this collection, but only in connection with his 'Plain and Easy Rules for Learners' taken from Henry Playford's 'A Choice Collection of Lessons' of 1696. This version of the 'Trumpet Voluntary' tune corresponds with that in Young's collection, and may very well have been derived from it; both differ markedly in several respects from versions given in the anonymous sources listed below as Nos. 5-7.

A third source in manuscript is in some respects the most interesting of all, for it consists of a suite of nine movements included in a set of instrumental part-books now in the British Museum (Add. 30,839 and 30,365-7). These four part-books, labelled simply first treble, second treble, tenor and bass, include a number of

The Prince of Denmark's March by Mr. Clarke
Ground

13

1st Part again

End with the First Strain

The image shows a page of musical notation for a trumpet voluntary. The title is 'The Prince of Denmark's March by Mr. Clarke'. The notation is written on a single staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The music is divided into two main sections. The first section is marked with a large '13' at the beginning. The second section is marked '1st Part again'. The score concludes with the instruction 'End with the First Strain'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

overtures, suites, dances, etc., by various composers of the late seventeenth century and seem to have been copied out by a foreign musician living in England c. 1700: Paisible's name has been suggested, but nothing is known for certain, except that the copyist's spelling of English names is highly eccentric and suggests a foreigner. Even so it is scarcely possible to doubt that the composer whose name he spells variously as Clark, Clarke or even Clairque can be anyone but Jeremiah Clarke, especially when we find that several of the pieces he attributes to this composer are also known under Jeremiah Clarke's name in other sources. The set of nine pieces which he calls 'Suite de Clarke' contains not only the so-called 'Trumpet Voluntary' itself (under the simple title of 'Rondeau') but also the 'Serenade' included under Clarke's name in Young's 'Choice Collection' of 1700 and 'The Duke of Gloucester's March', also attributed to Clarke in British Museum, Add. 22,099. The nine numbers of the orchestral 'Suite de Clarke' are as follows:

1. [The Duke of Gloucester's March]
2. Minuet
3. Sybil [i.e. Cebell]
4. Rondeau [The Prince of Denmark's March]
5. [Serenade]
6. Bourree
7. Iscossisi [i.e. Écossais, or Scotch tune]
8. Hornpipe
9. Gigue

The four part-books bear various indications of the original orchestration, which probably included solo trumpet, strings, oboes and bassoon. By comparing the orchestral versions with other versions for harpsichord, etc. it is possible to compile a fairly comprehensive score, although the tenor part is missing for Nos. 7 to 9. It may be, of course, that there never was a tenor part for these last three numbers, as they seem to be in fairly complete three-part harmony. All nine pieces are tuneful and have the same gay extrovert quality which has endeared the 'Trumpet Voluntary' itself to the ears and hearts of thousands of music-lovers.

A manuscript recently bequeathed to H. Watkins Shaw provides yet a fourth source, which originated at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This is a pocket-size oblong duodecimo keyboard book signed by the copyist: 'Ce livre appartient a G^m Babel 1701/ London'. The fact that all the titles and annotations in the book are in French suggests that this may have been the elder William Babel (who was born in France) rather than his more famous son (b. c. 1680), who studied with Pepusch and later published a volume of

keyboard music in his own name. On fo. 14^v Clarke's piece is copied under his name. In the margin it is entitled 'Marche', although the heading itself reads 'Rondeau'. This version differs from that printed by Walsh only in the ornaments indicated, and in a few passages like that just before the *da capo*, where a few melodic passing notes are omitted. Otherwise, this source is valuable for several new transcriptions for harpsichord from Purcell's incidental music for various plays. It also contains several genuine Purcell compositions, among them his well-known 'Trumpet Tune', the 'Cybil', here appearing under the heading 'Imitation de la descente de Cybelle/H. Purcel'.

Besides the above sources, in which Clarke's name is specifically mentioned, there are others in which the piece is quoted anonymously and in each case the melody differs slightly from the first printed edition of 1700. The most interesting of these is probably source No. 5, contained in a manuscript harpsichord book in the British Museum (Add. 31,465); it is called simply 'Trumpet Tune', with no composer's name attached. Several slight melodic divergences from sources Nos. 1-3, in particular the ornamented version of bar 7, lead one to suspect that this may have been the version used by Spark when he reprinted the piece as 'Purcell's Trumpet Voluntary' in the late nineteenth century. A sixth source is the eleventh edition of 'The Dancing Master', published in 1701, one year later than the 'Choice Collection'. Significantly, it does not appear in the pre-1700 editions. In the 1701 edition it is printed as a country-dance tune, called 'The Temple'; only the tune itself is printed, and this with a clumsy variant of bar 4. Bar 7, on the other hand, takes the same shape as that in source No. 5.

Source No. 7 comes from an unexpected quarter—John Gay's 'Polly', the sequel to his 'Beggar's Opera'. In 'Polly' the tune serves as finale to the whole opera, associated rather clumsily with the lines:

Justice, long forbearing,
Pow'r and Riches never fearing,
Slow yet persevering,
Hunts the villain's pace, etc.

Since Gay labelled it 'The Temple', it seems fairly obvious that his source was one of the later editions of 'The Dancing Master'. Source No. 8 also seems to derive from 'The Dancing Master'. It is in a manuscript harpsichord book belonging to Lady Susi Jeans, and is called simply 'A Country Dance', with no composer's name mentioned. Like all the versions derived from 'The Dancing Master',

it has the clumsy version of bar 4, accompanied by an equally clumsy bass.

How did the tune ever come to be associated with Purcell? It seems to have disappeared from public favour about the middle of the eighteenth century and only reappeared about a century and a quarter later, when it was published by William Spark, the organist of what is now Leeds City Hall. Spark was editor of a serial publication of organ music entitled 'Short Pieces for the Organ', published in London by Ashdown and Parry in the 1870's. The first piece in Book 7 of this work is entitled 'Trumpet Voluntary in D major, Henry Purcell'. Spark gave as his authority "an ancient manuscript in the editor's possession" and did not think it necessary to give any further information about his source, either by saying how 'ancient' it was, or whether he thought it was an autograph or a copy. Indeed, he would probably have been very surprised if he had known how famous the piece was later to become. This was largely due to the fact that a copy of his reprint eventually came into the hands of Sir Henry Wood, who in his own words "at once saw what a little gem it was", and made various arrangements of it, one of which was to become world-famous as 'Trumpet Voluntary, Purcell-Wood'. It is no doubt symptomatic of the extent to which scholarly and practical musical activities exist in watertight compartments that this work has been published at least twice under Clarke's name in recent times, apparently without attracting the attention of the experts. In 1923 J. A. Fuller-Maitland edited 'The Prince of Denmark's March' as part of his keyboard collection 'At the Court of Queen Anne' (Chester, London). And in 1943, when the 'Trumpet Voluntary' was approaching the zenith of its career as a war-time stiffener of morale, J. Stuart Archer arranged it for organ and published it (Paxton, London) as by "Jeremiah Clarke, generally ascribed to Henry Purcell".

There is an interesting addendum to this Purcell-Clarke controversy, concerning yet another trumpet piece, also generally attributed to Henry Purcell but, quite probably, really composed by Jeremiah Clarke. This is the well-known 'Trumpet Tune in D', a jaunty piece printed in a keyboard version on page 37 of the Purcell Society's Vol. VI (Harpsichord and Organ Music); Barclay Squire derived this piece from the Bodleian manuscript Mus. Sch. c. 397, a none too reliable source dating from the mid-eighteenth century. No other early ascription of this piece to Purcell is known. But it does appear—not as a harpsichord piece, but as an orchestral item—in Clarke's own handwriting in the full score of 'The Island

Princess' in British Museum, Add. 15,318. This stage work was the joint effort of Clarke, Leveridge and Daniel Purcell, and since Clarke seems to have written out the fair copy of the full score, it is at times rather difficult to decide exactly which composer was responsible for composing (or borrowing?) each individual item. The 'Trumpet Tune in D' appears as 'Second Act Tune', and like the 'Trumpet Voluntary' itself is quite obviously not a true keyboard piece at all but a typical theatre tune, written in four-part score. It was to be played by trumpet, strings, oboes and bassoons, or, indeed, by whatever suitable instruments were at hand. It also appeared in print, in Walsh's 'Second Book of Theatre Tunes' (1699), where it is called 'Trumpet Aire by Mr Clarke' (see a letter by Mr. Eric Halfpenny in *The Musical Times*, October 1953). It would appear that this splendid tune is yet another example of Jeremiah Clarke's happy gift for writing brilliant extrovert melodies for the trumpet, in which he was a worthy successor to Purcell.

There are several uncertainties about Clarke's career. The date of his birth is still unknown, estimates varying not by months or days, but by several years. All we really know is that he must have been at least ten years younger than Purcell. He was still a boy in the Chapel Royal at the time of James II's coronation in 1685, although by 1691 his voice had broken and he had to leave the Chapel to make his way in a world which he was doomed to find a rather unhappy place, on the whole. In spite of his ability to write gay tunes, he is said to have been of "a melancholy disposition"—a statement that we can scarcely quarrel with in the light of later events.

It was not that he lacked professional success. In 1692 he was organist of Winchester College; in 1693, almoner and Master of the Children at St. Paul's Cathedral in London; organist there in 1695; Composer of the Music to the Theatre Royal from 1696 onwards; Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1700, and one of its organists in 1705, when he also became a Vicar-Choral at St. Paul's. He is also said to have been music-master to Queen Anne (whose husband was the Prince of Denmark who gave his name to the march). All these appointments must have secured him a good income and a comfortable living. In spite of this he took his own life. Rumour had it that he had fallen helplessly in love with a lady who would not return his passion, owing to her exalted rank, and that after much inner conflict (an account of which can be read in Hawkins' 'History of Music', bk. 17, chap. 164) he went home to his lodgings near St. Paul's Church-yard, and there "shot himself with a screw-pistol".

This act not only put an untimely end to a gifted and still unfulfilled life but also initiated yet another historical controversy. Contemporary authorities differ as to the exact date of this unhappy event, although it was the theme of two contemporary pamphlets.¹ The most likely date seems to have been that given by Hawkins, 1 December 1707, for Clarke was buried on 3 December in the crypt of St. Paul's.² He wrote a good deal of church and theatre music, and has been credited with the first setting of 'Alexander's Feast', which unfortunately has been lost.

The evident skill with which his extant works were composed, their youthful exuberance and gentle melancholy, and, above all, their unified, yet individual style give us cause to regret that like Purcell he should have died in the prime of life. It is ironical that his fame has been rekindled in the twentieth century through a mistaken attribution of one of the slightest of his works.

¹ 'A full and true account of Mr. Jeremiah Clerk who violently shot himself on Monday the 1st of December 1707' (London, 1707).

² 'A sad and dismal account of the sudden and untimely death of Mr. Jeremiah Clark' (London, Johnson, 1707).

³ Lightwood (in 'Hymn-tunes and their Story') relates the dismal account of Clarke's having been jilted by his lady-love, who may have been too high to marry a poor musician. Falling into a fit of melancholy when riding home from a friend's house, he dismounted and flipped a coin to decide in what way he should end his life. The coin falling edgewise in the clay, he rode home and shot himself anyway, at "the Golden Cup in St. Paul's Church Yard." Unmoved by so melodramatic an end, Ned Ward wrote the following sardonic epitaph:

Let us not therefore wonder at his fall
Since 'twas not so unnatural
For him who lived by Canon to expire by Ball.

THE CARVER CHOIR-BOOK

BY KENNETH ELLIOTT

WITH the current publication of the complete works of the early sixteenth-century Scottish composer Robert Carver¹, an important contribution to the development of music in early Scotland will soon be available to all for study. The music of Robert Carver, though little known, has not, however, been entirely neglected: some mention of his works and of the manuscript in which they are contained has already been made by several writers.² Two of Carver's works, the Mass 'L'Homme armé' and the motet 'O bone Jesu', were recently published in 'Music of Scotland, 1500-1700',³ and the first volume of the complete edition is devoted to Carver's two extant motets, 'O bone Jesu' and 'Gaude flore virginali'. Of the manuscript source, however, no adequate account has so far appeared. This the present article attempts to provide.

The music of Robert Carver is recorded in the earliest and most extensive manuscript collection of sacred polyphony in Scotland. This manuscript is now in the National Library of Scotland (class-mark: Adv. MS 5.1.15, and there labelled 'Antiphonarium') and is sometimes known as the 'Scone Antiphony'. However, it is manifestly not an antiphony and there is no direct evidence that it was ever used at Scone.⁴ But as it is in choir-book lay-out and practically half its contents consist of the music of Robert Carver, it has been thought best to re-name it the Carver Choir-book. It is a large volume made up of 180 folios (paper: now 375 × 280 mm.) and originally compiled during the first half of the sixteenth century: the earliest dated composition is inscribed 1513 and the latest 1546. It contains

¹ 'Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae', 16, vol. I, ed. by Denis Stevens (1959).

² Notably W. H. Frere, 'Bibliotheca musico-liturgica' (1901-30), No. 689; H. G. Farmer, 'A History of Music in Scotland' (1948), pp. 108-9; Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed. (1954), ii, pp. 101-2 ('Robert Carver') and vii, pp. 658-9 ('Scone Choirbook'); Frank Ll. Harrison, 'Music in Medieval Britain' (1958), pp. 193-4; Denis Stevens, 'Robert Carver and his Motets' in *Monthly Musical Record*, September-October 1959, pp. 170-5. This last article reappears as the introduction to the first volume of the complete works.

³ An edition by J. A. Fuller Maitland also printed (with some errors) in 'The Year Book Press Series' (1926).

⁴ 'Musica Britannica', xv (1957), Nos. 3 & 5. Two other Masses from this manuscript (Nos. 6 and 25) are also published in this volume (Nos. 2 and 1 respectively).

⁵ It may of course have been used there, for the Augustinian abbey was a large and important religious foundation, and certainly wealthy enough to have possessed such a book. For further information about the abbey, see D. E. Easson, 'Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland' (1957), p. 83.

Masses and motets, some of them incomplete. A feature of the manuscript is the large coloured illuminated capitals which appear on many pages of the book. At some point in the nineteenth century it would seem to have been re-bound—perhaps after its acquisition by the Advocates' Library—but this was done without much regard for the order or chronology of its contents. In seven places adjacent folios have been stuck together* and the leaves of one or two compositions have become intermixed. In addition, the edges of a few pages have been cut rather capriciously, with the loss of some music, and a number of folios have disappeared altogether. Here is a list of the contents in their present order†:

No.	Folios	Title	Composer
1.	1-3	'... Vos quoque sancti patriarchae et prophetarum'‡ à 6	
2.	3 ^v	Agnus Dei ['L'Homme armé'] à 3 (?)	
3.	3 ^v	Miserere à 3	
4.	4-6	Mass 'Pater creator omnium' à 4	Robert Carver
5.	7 ^v -15	'O bone Jesu' à 19	Robert Carver
6.	16 ^v -26	Mass 'Rex virginum' à 4	
7.	26 ^v -42	Mass ['L'Homme armé'] à 4	Dufay
8.	42 ^v -51	Mass 'Deus creator omnium' à 4	
9.	52 ^v -66	Mass ['L'Homme armé'] à 4	Robert Carver
10.	66 ^v -69	'Gaude flore virginali' à 5	Robert Carver
11.	70 ^v -96	Mass 'Dum sacrum mysterium' à 10	Robert Carver
12.	96 ^v -108	Mass à 6	Robert Carver
13.	109 ^v -114	Magnificat à 5	
14.	114 ^v -119	Magnificat à 4	
15.	119 ^v -123	Magnificat à 5	[Nesbett]
16.	123 ^v -127	Magnificat à 4	
17.	127 ^v -132	Magnificat à 5	[Lambe]
18.	132 ^v -135	Magnificat à 5	
19.	136 ^v -141	'Salve regina' à 5	[Cornysh]
20.	141 ^v -149 ^v	'Salve regina' à 4	
21.	150-151	'Anima mea liquefacta est' à 5	
22.	151 ^v -155	'Eterne laudis lilium' à 5	[Fayrfax]
23.	155 ^v -161	'Ave Dei patris filia' à 5	[Fayrfax]
24.	161 ^v -170	Mass à 5	Robert Carver
25.	170 ^v -177	Mass à 3	
25a.	175	? à 2	
26.	177 ^v -178	'O bone Jesu' à 19	[Robert Carver]
27.	178 ^v -180 ^v	'Ave gloriosa virginum regina' à 5	

As it stands, the opening of No. 1 is incomplete.* We have only

* This is claimed to have been taken into account by Stevens (see n. 2), yet the number of folios is there stated to be 172.

† It is inaccurately stated in 'Grove', ii, p. 101 that Carver's works were copied in this order.

* Part of the subsequent text is quoted as the title in 'Grove', vii, p. 659.

* Not so indicated in 'Grove', vii, p. 659.

the right-hand half of the double-opening and consequently only the music of three of the voices in this section. Moreover, at least one other section is missing before it. What remains reveals a composition in the style of the English motets of the turn of the century, such as are found in the Eton Choir-book.¹⁰ No. 2 is carelessly written down, and its two voices, one an elaborate *discantus* and the other a slow-moving proportional version of the well-known folksong in the tenor, seem to lack a bass; No. 3 is indistinct in places, but seems to have the title 'Crieff 3 partium'. Both are very short and lack texts. The latter is for three voices and not, as stated in 'Grove',¹¹ for four. There is an odd 'fourth part' at the foot of the page, but it is an isolated tenor which may be a continuation of the 'Miserere' and whose companion parts may have been noted on the next folio (now lost). The left-hand side of the first page-opening of No. 4 is missing and we have thus only the *altus* and *bassus* parts of the Kyrie and the Gloria. Carver's own note states that he completed this short Mass in 1546 in his fifty-ninth year and in the forty-third year of his religion ("Missa domini Roberti carver¹² facta anno domini m^ov^olvj^o et anno aetatis suae lix^o necnon ingressus suae religionis anno xliij^o"). By this reckoning he would have been born in 1488 and entered religion in 1504 in his sixteenth year.¹³ Carver calls himself 'dominus' in this case but elsewhere he usually adds 'canonicus de Scona' or 'canonicus sconensis'.

No. 5 is complete and signed. Related versions of its text were set by Fayrfax (and anon.)¹⁴ and also by Lassus.¹⁵ Nos. 6 and 8 are stylistically akin and together with No. 7, inscribed 'Duffa vocatur',¹⁶ form what is probably the oldest surviving part of the manuscript. One folio is missing from the Kyrie of No. 8. No. 9 resembles Dufay's Mass on the same tune only in its choice of *cantus firmus*, the combination of voices for which it was written and the presence of poly-rhythmic passages.¹⁷ Nos. 10, 11 and 12 are written somewhat in the style of the Eton manuscript compositions. No. 11 has the following

¹⁰ Eton College MS. 178, discussed in Frank Ll. Harrison, 'The Eton Choirbook' in 'Annales Musicologiques', i (1953), pp. 151-75; edition of the manuscript by Harrison in course of publication in 'Musica Britannica', x (1956), xi (1958) and xii (1960).

¹¹ 'Grove', vii, p. 659.

¹² Mis-transcribed 'Carlbos' in 'Grove', ii, p. 101, Farmer, p. 108 and *Monthly Musical Record*, loc. cit., p. 171.

¹³ 'Grove', ii, p. 101 and *Monthly Musical Record*, loc. cit., p. 170 give "1487" and "at the age of sixteen" respectively.

¹⁴ See 'Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae', 16, I, p. iii.

¹⁵ Lassus, *Sämtliche Werke*, i, p. 69.

¹⁶ It is stated in Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 193 that Carver is the only composer named in the manuscript.

¹⁷ Cf. 'Grove', ii, p. 101 and *Monthly Musical Record*, loc. cit., p. 172.

inscription: "Tenor Dum Sacrum misterium¹⁸ missae quam composuit dominus Robertus carvor¹⁹ canonicus de scona anno domini m^ov^oxj^oij [sic] et aetatis suae anno xxij^o necnon ingressus suae religionis anno vj^o ad honorem dei et sancti michaelis". The first date shows clear signs of having been changed from 1506 to 1513, though whether the alteration was one process or more (*via* 1508²⁰ and 1511) is not absolutely certain.²¹ But in spite of these changes the dates still do not tally with those of No. 4. In the following table the information in the second column is on the authority of the manuscript:

No. of composition	Date of composition	Year of Carver's life	Year of religion	[Date of Carver's birth]	[Date of entering religion]
11.	1506/ 1513	22nd ²²	6th	[1485/ 1492]	[1501/ 1508]
4.	1546	59th	43rd	[1488]	[1504]

The only consistent fact which emerges is that Carver entered religion in his sixteenth year. Perhaps we can infer that as the date 1506 was in fact altered in No. 11 the date of Carver's birth was indeed later than 1485. But on the rest of the conflicting evidence it can only be placed between 1488 and 1492. Half-way through No. 11 (on fo. 76) there are some scribbles and an incomplete signature in a later sixteenth-century hand at the edge of the folio, which has unfortunately been cut: "Alexander be[...]er" (?). No. 12 has no set plainsong. Nos. 13-20 link the manuscript still more closely with the Eton Choir-book: the 'Magnificat' was a favourite text with English composers of the period and no fewer than twenty-four settings found a place in the original Eton manuscript, of which only four remain complete today. Nos. 15 and 17 correspond to two of these (the second supplying parts missing in the Eton manuscript) and No. 19 is also to be found in the English source. Perhaps the others in this group also formed part of the

¹⁸ There would seem to be little authority for "de istius", as this word is interpreted in 'Grove', ii, p. 101 and *Monthly Musical Record*, loc. cit., p. 171.

¹⁹ Mis-transcribed 'Carbor' in 'Grove', ii, p. 101 and *Monthly Musical Record*, loc. cit., p. 171.

²⁰ 'Musica Britannica', x, p. 142 and Harrison, p. 31. The 'x' in the manuscript date was originally a 'v'.

²¹ At any rate '1509', as suggested in 'Grove', ii, p. 101, is impossible, and the suggestion in *Monthly Musical Record*, loc. cit., p. 171 that there was an attempt to change the date from 1513 to 1509 remains doubtful.

²² Carver would therefore have been twenty-one ('twenty-two' and 'twenty-six' are both offered in *Monthly Musical Record*, loc. cit., p. 171). As Carver himself almost certainly wrote the inscription, we may assume that he (if anyone) knew in what year he was born.

original Eton Choir-book. On the last incomplete page-opening of No. 20 (fo. 149^v) there appear inscribed in one of the illuminated capitals the words "Magister Andrea H". As the inscription has obviously been added later and is in a different hand, it is possible that it has nothing to do with the authorship of the music; furthermore, the manuscript shows signs of having been detached at this point (the folio is soiled and it probably marked the end of a more or less complete gathering) and there are other scribbles on the page as well.

No. 21 lacks the first left-hand page.²² The foliation of Nos. 23-25 is muddled and overlapping: fo. 159 is misplaced and should come between fo. 172 and fo. 173; in the same way fo. 158 should come between fo. 161 and fo. 162. Here is yet another source in which Fayrfax's motet 'Ave Dei patris filia' is recorded: of all his works it seems to have been the most widely sung. No. 24 has a *cantus firmus*, but once more, owing to the folio being cut at the edge, the title is fragmentary (? "Tenor [. . .] a pessi[. . .] a") and its origin has not yet been traced. No. 25 is probably the Mass whose Kyrie has been described as being based on the 'Western Wind' tune²³: the general outline of that melody's first few notes may perhaps be discerned in the motto-theme which begins each movement, but the third is major and does not justify a description of even the first movement of the Mass in terms of the folksong. No. 25a is a fragment of twenty-seven bars without text employing some imitation. It appears in the course of No. 25 on fo. 175 and resembles the sections *d* 2 in Nos. 6 and 8, though it is of a more instrumental turn. Only the left-hand side of the first and the right-hand side of the last page-opening of No. 26 survive. No. 27 employs a *cantus firmus* of seemingly secular origin. The end is incomplete, but what remains points again to possibly English authorship.

It will be seen that the manuscript suffered considerable damage before it achieved its present form. By studying the gatherings and the handwriting and determining which sections of the book are continuous, we can perhaps reconstruct something of the original order of the music that has survived. Watermarks are not very helpful in this respect: the most common²⁴, which point to a late fifteenth-century Northern French or Flemish provenance, are fairly evenly distributed throughout the manuscript. Gatherings and handwriting tell us a little more. Here is an account of the

²² 'Grove', vii, p. 659 omits this title, presumably because the music is fragmentary, but quotes the text of a subsequent section as though it were the title of a separate work.

²³ Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 109. See 'Musica Britannica', xv, No. 1.

²⁴ Possibly Nos. 8539 and 8615 in C. M. Briquet, 'Les Filigranes' (1923), iii.

foliation that was made when the manuscript was taken down for re-binding in 1957.²⁶ Isolated numbers indicate single folios; paired numbers indicate conjugate leaves; horizontal lines mark off gatherings; brackets indicate pairs of glued folios:

1	34-44	71-82	{108	150
2	35-43	72-81	{109	
3	{36	73-80	110-133	151-156
4	{37-42	74-79	111-132	152-155
5	38-41	75-78	112-131	153-154
	39-40	76-77	113-130	
{ 6-14		83	114-129	157
13	45	84	115-128	158
{ 7-12			116-127	159
8-11	52	85-97	117-126	160
9-10	46-51	86-96	118-125	
	47-50	87-95	119-124	161-173
{15	48-49	88	120-123	162-172
16		89-94	121-122	163-171
17	53	90-93		164
		91-92	134	165-170
18-30	54-67			166-169
19-29	55-66	98	194	167-168
20-28	56-65	99	148	
27	57-64	100	{135	174
21-26	58-63	101	{136-147	175
22-25	59-62	102	137-146	176
23-24	60-61		138-145	
		103	139-144	177-179
31	68	104-107	140-143	178
32	{69	105-106	141-142	
33	70			180

All the pairs of glued folios occur between separate compositions except the pair 36-37. This last may seem curious coming in the middle of a work, but fo. 36 is isolated and it may have worked free from its original join; fo. 36^v and 37 may contain the last section of the Credo of Dufay's Mass, which is missing, but they also show traces of music in the same hand as No. 25a—as do fo. 108^v and 109.

Apart from the fragments (e.g. No. 25a), the music is written in what appear to be three distinct forms of the same hand, showing development over a number of years and very likely that of Carver himself. The first is large, angular and more faded than the others (Nos. 6-8); the second is round and clear (e.g. No. 11) and the third a hasty scrawl (No. 4). Assuming that the dated pieces were

²⁶ I am indebted to the Department of Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland for permission to publish this material.

copied at about the time of their composition and that Carver was probably the copyist, we can give approximate dates to the three hands: (i) *c.* 1500—*c.* 1510, (ii) *c.* 1510—*c.* 1520, and (iii) after 1546. The previous evidence suggested that the following items or groups of items were self-contained and therefore probably detached at the time of re-binding: Nos. 1-3, 4-5, 6-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-18, 19-20, 21-27. Re-grouping them now as far as possible according to the handwriting we obtain the following result: Nos. 6-8, 13-20/1-3, 5, 9-10, 11-12, 21-27/4. Nos. 2 and 3, being fragments and very likely later additions, are difficult to place in this scheme; materially, at any rate, they are still a part of No. 1. No. 4 is certainly the latest large-scale work to be copied but it seems curious that it is linked with No. 5 by one conjugate leaf as well as by a glued folio. This may still mean, however, that No. 5 can precede No. 4 in copying order: the latter may have been inserted at this point merely to fill up space. Rearranging the items further according to style, we obtain the following order, which may be perhaps a little nearer that of the original manuscript:

- | | | |
|---------|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 6. | Mass 'Rex virginum' | |
| 7. | Mass 'L'Homme armé' | Dufay |
| 8. | Mass 'Deus creator omnium' | |
| 13.-18. | (six settings of the Magnificat) | |
| 19.-20. | (two settings of 'Salve regina') | |
| 11. | Mass 'Dum sacrum mysterium' | Robert Carver |
| 12. | Mass à 6 | Robert Carver |
| 9. | Mass 'L'Homme armé' | Robert Carver |
| 10. | 'Gaude flore virginali' | Robert Carver |
| 5. | 'O bone Jesu' | Robert Carver |
| 21. | 'Anima mea liquefacta est' | |
| 22. | 'Eterne laudis lilium' | [Fayrfax] |
| 23. | 'Ave Dei patris filia' | [Fayrfax] |
| 24. | Mass à 5 | Robert Carver |
| 25. | Mass à 3 | |
| 26. | 'O bone Jesu' | [Robert Carver] |
| 27. | 'Ave gloriosa virginum regina' | |
| 1. | '... Vos quoque sancti' | |
| 2. | Agnus Dei 'L'Homme armé' | |
| 3. | Miserere | |
| 4. | Mass 'Pater creator omnium' | Robert Carver |

Stylistically, this order would seem to be more natural. The Dufay Mass and its companions form what is some of the earliest music in the manuscript; then follow works by late fifteenth-century English composers. Carver may or may not have copied all this music. Either way, it certainly contributed to the formation of his

style, as can be seen in the works of his that follow. The order of these suggested above is based on the evidence of Carver's development as a composer. Nos. 1 and 27 have certain stylistic affinities, as we have observed, and their juxtaposition would seem to have been most natural in the original order of things. Carver's Mass of 1546 is without doubt the latest surviving major item that was copied into the book. The date alone would seem to isolate it from the rest of the music and even in style it belongs to a much later period than that of Carver's other work. Perhaps several items, now unfortunately lost, bridged the gap between Nos. 3 and 4.

The Carver Choir-book is directly related in content to the Eton manuscript, as we have seen, and in its general aspect to other English manuscripts of the same period—e.g. Gonville and Caius College MS. 667 and Lambeth Palace MS. 1²²—all of them, significantly, belonging to royal foundations. It seems strange that the Carver manuscript has never been linked by analogy with the Chapel Royal of Scotland. The only evidence connecting the manuscript with Scone is contained in the formulae that appear with Carver's signature: 'canonicus de Scona' or 'sconensis'. But such a designation could merely have meant that Carver was the recipient of a canonical prebend, which did not necessarily entail residence at its seat. (A famous example is the case of Dufay who was appointed canon of Cambrai Cathedral and signed some of his compositions '... chanon de Cambray' and yet lived and worked elsewhere.²³)

In 1501 King James IV of Scotland made preparations for establishing a musical college at his Chapel Royal within the palace of the Castle of Stirling. Three facts emerge from accounts of its early years which suggest that it may well have housed the Carver Choir-book. First, in 1501 Pope Alexander VI empowered James Abercrombie, Abbot of Scone, and David Arnot, archdeacon of Lothian, to endow a collegiate church at Stirling Castle. Later, David Arnot became Abbot of Cambuskenneth and bishop of Whithorn and of the Chapel Royal.²⁴ At three places in the Choir-book Robert Carver adds "alias arnat" after his signature. He may have been the natural son of David Arnot. Second, the Chapel Royal of Scotland was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael.²⁵ It is significant that Carver's first important work is

²² For a list of contents, see 'Musica Britannica', x, p. 142.

²³ G. Reese, 'Music in the Renaissance' (1954), p. 50.

²⁴ C. Rogers, 'History of the Chapel Royal of Scotland' (1882), pp. xxxi & xlii.

²⁵ Rogers, p. xi etc; Easson, p. 185. On the other hand, the abbey of Scone, which was originally dedicated to the Trinity, was in 1114 (or 1115) placed under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael, St. John, St. Lawrence and St. Augustine ('Liber Ecclesie de Scon', Bannatyne Club, 1843, p. [ix]).

dedicated "ad honorem dei et sancti michaelis" and uses as its *cantus firmus* the antiphon at the Magnificat in the feast of the dedication of St. Michael the Archangel.³¹ (If the date of the Mass is indeed 1513 it would confirm the Chapel Royal as a likely provenance: the coronation of James V may well have occasioned such an elaborate work and the aftermath of Flodden may have influenced the choice of *cantus firmus* with its possible symbolism in the figure of St. Michael, leader of the heavenly host.³²) Third, if the inscription on fo. 3 is in fact 'Creiff', it would link the books still more closely with the Chapel Royal. In 1501 the revenues of several canonries and prebends, including Crieff, were assigned to the Chapel Royal and in 1504 the prebend of Crieff was annexed by Papal rescript to the collegiate church at Stirling.³³

Carver's name appears once more in contemporary documents as signatory to an instrument of sasine dated 1544 and drawn up at the monastery of Scone.³⁴ His presence at Scone on that occasion does not, of course, invalidate the hypothesis that he worked at Stirling.

³¹ 'Paléographie Musicale', xii: 'Antiphonaire Monastique de Worcester' (1922), fo. 379.

³² Reports vary as to the actual day on which James V's coronation took place. One authority (Pittcottie, 'History of Scotland', p. 119), after describing the battle of Flodden, continues: "James V . . . was crowned at Stirling the twentieth Day thereafter", i.e., 29 September 1513. If true, it would confirm the present argument, as that is itself the Feast of St. Michael.

³³ Rogers, pp. xxxiv & xliii.

³⁴ 'Liber Ecclesie de Scone', p. 207.

MANUSCRIPT ORGAN BOOKS IN ETON COLLEGE LIBRARY

BY RODERICK WILLIAMS

DURING a recent reorganization of the College Library at Eton there came to light an interesting series of organ books dating from about the year 1700. There are nine volumes in all, about 14 inches long and 10 inches high, containing altogether about 1,500 pages of music. It is evident that many pages have been lost from some volumes and it is possible to say in some cases what is missing, as each volume has an index (often very incomplete) inside the cover. The collection contains about 150 anthems and 25 services (all the latter being settings of the evening canticles). Most of the music is naturally of the Restoration and early eighteenth-century period, the few pieces of an earlier date being all standard works, such as Tallis's 'Dorian' service.

As one would expect, local composers are well represented. Child (fourteen works) and Goldwin (nineteen) were organists of St. George's Chapel and the latter was also a lay clerk at Eton. Benjamin Rogers (one) and John Walter (an evening service in A) were organists of Eton. So too was Benjamin Lamb, all of whose works in these books (four anthems and a setting of the 'Cantate' and 'Deus misereatur') were included in Tudway's collection. John Weldon (four) had been a chorister at Eton under Walter. The biggest contributor, however, is an outsider, Croft, with twenty-six anthems. Eight of Purcell's works appear: the 'Magnificat' and 'Nunc Dimittis' of the B \flat service and the following anthems: 'Behold, I bring you glad tidings'; 'Be merciful'; 'My song shall be alway' (for bass); 'O give thanks'; 'O God, thou art my God'; 'O God, thou hast cast us out'; 'Thy way, O God, is holy'. Blow is also represented by eight works: settings of the four evening canticles in G and the anthems: 'I behold and lo!'; 'I was in the spirit'; 'I will hearken'; 'Lift up your heads'; 'O Lord, thou hast searched me out'; 'Turn thee unto me, O Lord'; 'When Israel came out of Egypt'.

Among other composers of the day Aldrich is represented by six compositions, Clarke by five, Greene by three, Pelham Humfrey by three and Turner by six. Other composers whose works appear are Bevin, Bull, Buononcini, Byrd, Church, Richard Farrant, Gibbons, Hall, Hawkins, Jackson, William Lawes, Norris, Richardson,

Stroud, Tallis, Tucker, Tudway, Warren and Wise. There were also compositions by Bryan, Patrick and Woodeson, but these have disappeared. In addition there are about twenty anthems of uncertain authorship, the copyists having throughout been very casual about giving the composer their due.

It is possible by reference to the College Audit Books to date this series of books to within the years 1686-1732. During those years there are frequent and, for periods, regular payments recorded for writing in the organ and choir books and for the purchase of music paper and the binding of the books. It may be possible to date individual items a little more closely; for instance, it seems probable that the books are written in the hands of John Walter and of Benjamin Lamb, who succeeded him as organist in 1705. The latter would appear to have done most of the writing; Walter's hand appears only in sections of two volumes in the writing of eight services and twelve anthems. Other small items may also help. Child's 'O Lord, grant the queen a long life' would seem to have been copied in Queen Anne's reign, though the index has 'king'. Of the sets of part books which, according to the Audit Books, were made at the same time, there seems to be no trace, so that we are left with only the organ score, which varies considerably in the amount of detail that it shows.

AMERICAN MUSIC ON THE GRAMOPHONE

By ALFRED FRANKENSTEIN

IN ONE of his recently-published conversations with his disciple, Robert Craft, Igor Stravinsky observes that

in the main . . . the need for new cantatas, string quartets, symphonies, is wholly imaginary, and commissioning organizations like the Ford and Rockefeller [Foundations] are really only buying up surplus symphonies as the government buys up surplus corn. In fact, the need for such music is so hopelessly non-actual that the commissioners are now obliged to try to buy the need for the symphony as well as the symphony.¹

Part of this effort "to buy the need for the symphony as well as the symphony" takes the form of subsidized recording. American foundations—the great ones which underwrite ventures of every kind and several small ones concerned entirely with music—annually pour millions of dollars into the recording of contemporary American works. According to Donald McCorkle, "a 1959 census of American music on long-playing records showed that 1,602 [American] compositions have been recorded, but of these, only 159 were written before 1918."²

At least fifty modern American works have come out on discs since Dr. McCorkle's tabulation was made; as a round number we may say that 1,500 modern American compositions are now available on records. Nearly all these recordings have been financed with foundation money of one kind or another. The fact is that American foundations, originally dedicated to the underwriting of scholarly projects, have now almost totally abandoned scholarship, at least in the arts, to concentrate on creative projects. The American musical scholar can secure little or no support nowadays³, and very few American books on music are being published; but new American compositions are being printed—and, even more strikingly,

¹ Igor Stravinsky & Robert Craft, 'Memories and Commentaries' (New York, 1960).

² Donald McCorkle, jacket notes for 'The Unknown Century of American Classical Music (1760-1860)', Vol. I: 'Arias, Anthems, and Chorales of the American Moravians' (Columbia Record ML 5427).

³ Typical of his plight is the observation of Berthold Bronson in the introduction to his book, 'The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads'; he gives thanks to Datus Smith, former director of the Princeton University Press, "who of his own volition revived my expiring hopes at a time when these unprinted sheets gave promise of turning eventually into a winding sheet".

being performed and recorded—on every side. This redresses an old inequality, although it replaces one injustice with another, and it is typical of developments within the American academic community during the last ten years. The foundations, big and small, take their cue from the academic world and are, to all intents and purposes, financial adjuncts of it. And the music department of the typical American college or university has, during the past ten years, changed from an institution devoted to the conservation of the good, the true and the beautiful to an institution that rides the front bumper of the *avant-garde*. Within shockingly recent memory the typical musical academician was the legalistic theorist with his book of rules; today the American academic music department without a Milhaud, a Hindemith, a Sessions or a Schönberg at its head is simply not in the swim. This change is one of the most profound and far-reaching in the history of music in modern times, and its full significance is not properly realized either at home or abroad.

Academic musical life, foundation money and recordings of modern American music are all bound together, then, in one intricate package. The records are likely to appear in special series with special labels to indicate their origin. One of the oldest and most important of these series is the one issued by the Louisville Orchestra.

Louisville is not a big city as American cities go, nor is it especially noted as a centre of activity among composers, but its orchestra has a progressive conductor, Robert Whitney, who secured a very large foundation grant to commission and record new works. This series has been running since 1954, and its catalogue of releases up to 1960 lists exactly 100 compositions—concertos, symphonies, shorter orchestral pieces and a number of operas. Not all of these are American works, by any means, for the Louisville commissioning programme has no national boundaries. Of the forty-nine American things listed in the Louisville catalogue, one, in my opinion, ranks among the century's masterpieces. This is the 'Idyll of Theocritus' by Roger Sessions, which is far less well known than it ought to be, especially since Whitney and his vocal soloist, Audrey Nossaman, have done it so extremely well. The Louisville list is full of other American works of great interest. I remember with special pleasure the symphonic piece by Halsey Stevens called 'Triskelion', Henry Cowell's eleventh symphony, Ben Weber's 'Prelude and Passacaglia', Everett Helm's second piano concerto, Lou Harrison's 'Eight Strict Songs', and the famous 'Orchestral Variations' of Aaron Copland. On the whole the Louisville commissions have been a bit on the conservative side. They include a number of twelve-note pieces, but that is as

far as it goes; the newer forms of anarchy and horrendousness are not represented here. One should add, perhaps, that the Louisville Orchestra's records are not sold through ordinary retail outlets but are obtainable only by mail order at the orchestra's headquarters, 830 South Fourth Street, Louisville 3, Kentucky.

Composers Recordings, Incorporated, is closely tied to the professional organization known as the American Composers' Alliance. The composers represented on the discs are, presumably, members of the Alliance, but by what principle they and their works are chosen it would be difficult to say. The list so far includes ninety titles. The works are of every type and of every conceivable quality, from the most trivial and academic to the most advanced. That modern American music has a history is indicated among Composers Recordings by a group of the tone-cluster piano pieces with which Henry Cowell galvanized the world in the 1920's, by Roger Sessions's highly romantic first symphony of 1928, and the magnificent 'Organum' of Carl Ruggles, the grand old man of Charles Ives's breed and generation. Also outstanding here are Ben Weber's 'Symphony on Poems by William Blake', one of the subtlest of American twelve-note pieces; William Bergma's intense and vivid opera 'The Wife of Martin Guerre' (not recorded complete); a disc of the electronic music of Otto Luening and Vladimir Ussachevsky; the eighth quartet of Quincy Porter, the ablest conservative composer of chamber music in America; the brilliant 'Serenade for Five Instruments' of Seymour Shifrin; the somewhat Bartókian string quartet in two movements by Billy Jim Layton; and the incredibly delicate 'Landscapes' of Chou Wen-chun, who has succeeded in fusing oriental and occidental idioms under the shadow of Edgard Varèse.

Varèse himself will shortly appear on an RCA Victor disc in the first recording of one of his big, noisy, overwhelming epics. The piece is 'Arcanes', and the sponsoring organization is the American International Music Fund, which went into recording for the first time two years ago. This fund, administered by Mme. Serge Koussevitzky, operates on a very unusual plan. Each year all the competent orchestras in the United States are invited to make tapes of previously unrecorded compositions, not necessarily American, during a specific period of a month or six weeks. These tapes are sent to New York for hearing by a jury, which selects two of them for a subsidized recording by the company with which the orchestra regularly makes its discs. But every tape submitted, no matter how many there may be, is reproduced five times, and copies of each tape

are deposited, along with copies of the scores, in five strategically located music libraries from coast to coast. These repositories of scores and tapes have many uses—and they are being used. I myself have served as a member of the American International Music Fund's jury since the scheme was inaugurated and so cannot pretend to speak of its published records without prejudice. We have had the pleasure of discovering two remarkable young symphonic composers and bringing them to the discs for the first time. Their names are Easley Blackwood and Wayne Peterson. As indicated above, we have also had the pleasure of recognizing the genius of Varèse, and we have brought out the second symphony of Alexei Haieff.

Another foundation-supported venture of which I cannot speak dispassionately is the recording award of the Naumburg Foundation, on whose jury I have served since it was founded ten years ago. We have recorded major symphonies by Roger Sessions, Wallingford Riegger, William Schuman, Walter Piston, Peter Mennin and Roy Harris, and have brought out works by less well-known composers like George Barati, Cecil Effinger, Robert Helps and Andrew Imbrie. The Naumburg list is not long, but it includes both chamber music and symphonic works and its composers are scattered from New York to Hawaii. In some ways, I think, it is a fair cross-section, although excellence is the criterion rather than representativeness.

The Fromm Foundation is a one-man crusade conducted by a Chicago wine merchant, Paul Fromm, on behalf of modern music. He gives concerts, awards prizes, underwrites publication, sponsors seminars and issues records. The Fromm Foundation records are not limited to American composers, but among the American works available here are Lou Harrison's remarkable modal Mass; the very dramatic 'Sonata Concertante' and trio of Leon Kirchner; the subtly persuasive string quartet No. 2 of William Denny; and, if Ernst Křenek is an American, that composer's 'Sestina', which is the most remarkable example of total serialism so far recorded.

The Naumburg Foundation issues its records through Columbia and Fromm issues his through Epic, which is a Columbia subsidiary. Columbia and Epic also do a great deal with modern music on their own. Columbia's modern American list contains eighty-three titles. It includes a special Modern American Chamber Music series, with such major achievements as the immense quartet No. 1 of Elliott Carter, and other ensemble works by most of the well-established names—Copland, Harris, Sessions, Thomson, Schuman, Piston,

Porter, Riegger, and so on—as well as the younger generation of Kirchner, Imbric, Harold Shapero and Morton Feldman. Feldman exploits the new principle of indeterminacy—the principle by which, to put it roughly, some elements of the music are left to chance or to the player's choice at the moment of playing, and with unexpectedly powerful, not to say profound, results in the group of chamber pieces represented on Columbia's disc. Two of Columbia's orchestral pieces which appeal greatly to me are the tuneful, folksy cello concerto of Virgil Thomson and the ruminative, Vaughan Williamsish fourth symphony of David Diamond.

Howard Hanson has recorded many American works with his Eastman-Rochester Symphony Orchestra under the Mercury label. The standards of recording and performance are uniformly high here, but the music tends toward the academic; however, Hanson has done such major scores as Ives's third symphony and 'Three Places in New England', the third symphony of Harris (which, more than any single work, opened the symphonic concert hall to the American composer), and such historic modern works as the 'Three Symphonic Sketches' of Charles W. Chadwick. Mercury is also responsible for some major Americana in the department of chamber music, including all four of Ives's violin sonatas performed by Rafael Druian (violin) and John Simms (piano).

Some American recording firms, like Capitol, Decca and RCA Victor, take relatively little interest in modern music and record it only if some especially saleable personality is involved in the interpretation. RCA Victor's recent disc containing the suites from Aaron Copland's 'Appalachian Spring' and 'The Tender Land' are typical of this; they were done by the composer with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Typical, also, is the RCA Victor recording of Alan Hovhaness's 'Mysterious Mountain' by Fritz Reiner and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Two or three years ago Hovhaness was the most extensively recorded of all serious American composers, but his list today is comparatively small. The mortality of contemporary American music on records is extremely high, and complete catalogues, like the list of modern American works recorded by MGM during Edward Cole's association with that firm, have been wiped out overnight; when Cole resigned his position as recording director at MGM, all his works went with him. One of the most curious lists is that of the American Recording Society—about 100 titles, many of them contemporary, recorded a dozen years ago and originally sold on subscription. These records keep appearing and disappearing; at the time of writing they have been off the market for years, but I

am reliably informed that they will be reintroduced this autumn. A characteristic irony of American musical life is that the orchestral records published by the American Recording Society were all made in Europe; American orchestras are too expensive to be used by American recording ventures. By the same token Composers Recordings are now making many discs in Japan.

A valuable guide to the complex subject of this article is 'American Music on Records', published by the American Music Centre, an entirely non-commercial organization whose headquarters are at 250 West 57th Street, New York 19. The publication first appeared in 1956 in the form of a 39-page pamphlet. A 21-page supplement to it was issued two years later, and a second supplement is now in preparation. Not everything listed in 'American Music on Records' or its existing supplement can be readily obtained, however. Finally, one should mention another invaluable pamphlet which is not strictly related to records but has much bearing upon them. This is called 'Some Twentieth-Century American Composers, A Selective Bibliography, Volume I'. It was compiled by John Edmunds and Gordon Boelzner, who have charge of the Americana Collection in the Music Division of the New York Public Library, and was published by the New York Public Library earlier this year. It lists books and articles, published in Europe and America, by and about fifteen composers who, in the words of Peter Yates's introduction, "form a group [who are] central to the growth in American music of a continental individuality". The fifteen composers are Henry Brant, John Cage, Elliott Carter, Aaron Copland, Henry Cowell, Roy Harris, Lou Harrison, Alan Hovhaness, Charles Ives, Harry Partch, Wallingford Riegger, Carl Ruggles, Roger Sessions, Virgil Thomson and Edgard Varèse. Yates's introduction ranges through the music of all the composers and provides an extremely well written brief survey of modern American music. Key works by each of the composers can be found on records, and in some cases many more than a handful are available.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Life and Symphonies of Anton Bruckner. By Erwin Doernberg. pp. 235. (Barrie & Rockliff, London, 1960, 42s.)

Books on Anton Bruckner in English may have been few and far between in the past; yet, to call this publication (with more benevolence than accuracy) "the first British book entirely devoted to Bruckner" (as Robert Simpson does in an otherwise non-committal foreword) is to over-simplify facts unnecessarily. The author's obvious intention has been to discuss Bruckner's life and works in terms easily accessible to the "general musical reader" and to avoid the pitfalls of current Bruckner hagiography—philological controversy and analytical boredom. On balance he can hardly be credited with more than very moderate success. Mr. Doernberg's readable narrative of Bruckner's life proceeds on generally accepted lines, without producing new results of scholarship. This section also shows that earlier books on the subject have been read and absorbed. Acknowledgment to them is chiefly confined to footnotes which do rather less than justice to the writers to whom he refers. That the author lacks the equipment necessary for a work of this kind becomes painfully evident from the part of his book devoted to Bruckner's music, from which the three great Masses and the string quintet are all but excluded. As anybody knows who has become acquainted with Bruckner's musical language, the style of the symphonies emerges from the music of the preceding Masses, composed during Bruckner's formative years in Linz (1864-1868). To discuss Bruckner's style in general and the music of his mature symphonies (chiefly composed in Vienna after 1868) without reference to the Masses is to give a lop-sided picture of his creative development.

Hence, Mr. Doernberg's attempt to write analyses of the symphonies and to offer a considered opinion on the vexed question of the 'original versions' was doomed to failure from the start. The analyses rarely go beyond the standard of the usual journalistic programme note. They also totally fail to evaluate clearly the respective merits of the different versions. In the tedious editorial quarrel connected with the critical and complete edition Mr. Doernberg seems to take sides with Robert Haas without, however, really explaining why he prefers him to his successor, Nowak. In his comment on Bruckner's mannerism of quotation and self-quotation he is far from consistent. Although he readily admits the existence of deliberate Wagner quotations in the first version of the third symphony, he calls a clear derivation from the Rhinemaidens scene in 'Götterdämmerung' in the scherzo of the sixth symphony (as demonstrated in my book on Bruckner and Mahler) "quite absurd", despite the fact that the thematic evidence sticks out a mile, if one compares the quotation on p. 95 of my book with Ex. 105 in his. There are also some notable factual errors which should not pass unchallenged. To call the finale of the fifth symphony "chiefly a colossal fugue with three themes" is an over-simplification amounting to a falsehood. The movement is as much or as little a "colossal

fugue" as the finale of the 'Jupiter' symphony. It is, in fact, a sonata movement with large sections in fugal style, alternating with equally large stretches of non-fugal music. This becomes evident from Mr. Doernberg's own rather muddled analysis (pp. 169 foll.), which even omits to discuss the final chorale in its different settings—surely, one of Bruckner's most potent inspirations, crying out for a considered opinion on its original pattern. It is equally misleading to speak, as the author does on p. 207, of the "scant sketches for the planned finale" of the ninth symphony. That these sketches are anything but scant he could have easily learned from publications on this matter by Orel and myself which he quotes in his bibliography but cannot possibly have perused. These sketches are so extensive that, assisted by Robert Simpson, I was able to give a coherent rendering of them on the piano in a public lecture-recital in London as long ago as 1948.

In his appendix the author includes a 'Calendar of Composition and Revision' (of the symphonies only) which unfortunately omits publication dates and publishers' names and is therefore totally valueless for practical use. He adds a catalogue of works which is compiled with so little accuracy as to omit Bruckner's one and only string quartet (in C minor), published several years ago as part of the 'Complete Works'. In the 'Select Bibliography' the crude mis-spelling of the name of Ernst Decsey makes one wonder whether Mr. Doernberg ever read his book. There are also quite a number of misprints (especially in dates and among the music examples). There is unfortunately no discography, which in a book of more than 230 pages, sold at a price of two guineas, would have been a courtesy much appreciated by the "general musical reader". Among the well-produced illustrations are two facsimiles from sketches for the seventh and eighth symphonies which are among the most valuable pages of Mr. Doernberg's otherwise stillborn attempt to produce a popular English book on the great Austrian symphonist.

H. F. R.

Sibelius. By Harold Johnson. pp. 255. (Faber, London, 1960, 25s.)

Many thousands of words have been churned out on Sibelius since Cecil Gray's pioneering monograph first appeared in the 'thirties. Though Gray often made little sense where musical matters were concerned, his book did play an important part in stimulating enthusiasm for Sibelius in this country. On the other hand he made no attempt to cover Sibelius's life, though that omission was soon repaired by the appearance of Karl Ekman's biography. This, however, bore the heavy hand of 'official' biography, and the need for a new, objective study has long been felt.

Mr. Harold Johnson, an American who spent two years in Finland on a Fulbright scholarship, proclaims his objectivity in his opening pages. He does not concern himself with the music (with which he appears strangely enough to have little sympathy) and in his preface advises those "interested in musical vivisection" to consult the special studies by Gray, Abraham, Ringbom, Parmet and others, which he lists in a somewhat arbitrary bibliography. These, he tells us, "clearly establish that analysis is like criticism: you can prove almost anything once you have taken your stand". His stand is made abundantly clear: it is in his own words

"to reduce Sibelius to mortal stature" and to unfold the reality from the legend. "In general", he says, "my approach has been that of the historian. Even here I have been forced to be highly selective in the choice of what I considered to be pertinent material".

Though one admires the patience with which Mr. Johnson has compiled his dreary little anthology of newspaper critiques, there is certainly no doubt that he is "highly selective". The second symphony, for example, is graced with four notices, three unfavourable. For these Mr. Johnson has scoured and burrowed with conspicuous zeal, emerging with the Manchester correspondent of the *Musical Times* writing in 1905, a Vienna correspondent of a St. Petersburg paper writing in 1910, and an Italian critic from 1923. One distinguished London critic writing about the third symphony is quoted as wondering "whether England has overrated Sibelius's music", though his qualifying remarks later in the same critique (that he was listening to the symphony for the first time) are not reproduced. Similarly Ralph Wood, one of Sibelius's warmest (and most discriminating) admirers, is cited only when he comments on a work unfavourably. Johnson himself loses no opportunity for the passing sneer. "The Romance in C is guaranteed to evoke a spontaneous 'Tchaikovsky, of course!'" The exquisite 'Khadra's Dance' from 'Belshazzar's Feast' prompts the observation that "Sibelius could have enjoyed great success as a composer of music for Hollywood". These remarks are not isolated, and the whole tone of his writing might invite the question whether in Mr. Johnson's vocabulary the word 'objective' means the same as it does for the rest of us.

The purely biographical side of the book is no less myopic. The reader is regaled with such asinine quotations as Loeffler's "Sibelius! My dear Downes! Let me tell the truth! I prefer my music without cod-liver-oil". And it is difficult to have confidence in the judgment of a scholar who places so much emphasis on such an inadmissible source as Adolf Paul. According to Johnson, Sillén, one of the characters in Paul's 'A Book about a Man' (1891), is based on Sibelius. It is not long before we find Sillén's vanity and other shortcomings (as well as his views on Wagner) seriously discussed as characteristic of Sibelius himself. This is about as fair as admitting Thomas Mann's *Leverkühn* as a legitimate portrayal of Schönberg. The book abounds in cheap innuendos: Paul is rightly dismissed as "a pathetic figure" and Johnson gratuitously tells us that "he died in poverty before witnessing the final defeat of his idol, the only person other than Sibelius, who, he felt, deserved the love of his people: Adolf Hitler".

However, for all its sneers at Sibelius and his 'way' (this jibe crops up more than a dozen times) a good deal of scholarship has gone into this volume. The list of works that Mr. Johnson has compiled is the most complete, detailed and accurate so far published in English. There are a number of interesting (though not always important) discoveries: the early A minor overture, generally thought to date from 1891, is apparently contemporaneous with the second symphony. Nevertheless the endeavour to magnify Sibelius's debt to Kajanus (whose 'Aino' symphony is said to have given Sibelius the impulse to write 'Kullervo') leads Mr. Johnson to belittle Sibelius's genuinely inborn feeling for the orchestra. No musical

evidence is offered in support of this. Similarly, the author refrains from marshalling any evidence to support his theory that the fourth symphony originated in a string quartet (a matter that he discussed in a Helsinki Swedish-language newspaper) but contents himself with the usual dirge of press invective.

Mr. Johnson had an admirable opportunity to correct the larger-than-life picture of Sibelius presented by some of his uncritical admirers. In his anxiety to discard the rose-coloured spectacles of Ekman, however, he has gone to the other extreme and views his subject through reversed binoculars. This approach, along with the absence of real musical acumen, sadly diminishes the value of his researches.

R. L.

Bernard Shaw's Sister and her Friends. By Henry George Farmer. pp. xvi + 274. (Brill, Leiden; Barmerlea Book Sales, London, 1959, 39s. 6d.)

Dr. Farmer protests too much: he is also repetitious. He is careless of punctuation and writes in a style which can descend to expressions like "the erstwhile sage of Ayot St. Lawrence". But for anyone who can stomach these obstacles his account of Lucy Carr Shaw is fascinating, all the more because it includes so many of her letters. The world today knows nothing of her; but it was more than piety that persuaded Dr. Farmer to trace her history. On her brother's admission she had natural gifts as a musician; but it was her fate during her short professional career to be associated mainly with what are now called 'musical comedies', though she also appeared at several of Arnold Dolmetsch's concerts. At the age of 46 she fell a victim to tuberculosis and remained an invalid till her death in 1920. Dr. Farmer has a good deal to tell us about her professional career, in which she had considerable success; but far more absorbing is the story of the unflinching courage with which she endured the long years of illness. During those years her brother gave her substantial financial support but seems to have had little interest in seeing her. No doubt the fact that Charlotte Shaw disliked her had something to do with it; but it is also clear that Shaw himself was too much an egoist to be bothered with relations, however close. The most critical reader would be willing to agree to this; but Dr. Farmer is so anxious to refute the criticisms of Lucy made by some of Shaw's biographers that he overstates his case. There is evidence here of neglect, but not of positive unkindness; and the 'callousness' which Dr. Farmer attributes to Shaw may have been nothing more than a reluctance to express emotion.

The frontispiece shows Lucy as Honor in Learmont Drysdale's 'Red Spider'. She was 45 at the time and still a charming woman. Something of the same charm can still be seen in the photographs taken in 1911 and 1912, when she was sick and ageing. It also appears in her letters, which are witty (even in adversity) and knowledgeable. She seems to have been a remarkably intelligent woman, with a wide interest in music. She writes from Gotha in 1901:

I arrived here in time for most of the opera season and went nearly every night. I did not miss one of the Wagner nights. I wish the Germans could bring themselves to sing in tune, it is perfectly maddening the way they amble all round a note and never hit it clear in the middle.

She saw 'Salome' in Dresden ("very wonderful and arresting") in 1906, and went to two more performances in 1908. "I should like to hear it every night for a month", she writes. "Richard Strauss' genius staggers me". She read Bergson and Croce, and translated Strindberg into English. There is something pathetic in her requests to Shaw's secretary to let her have free copies of his plays. Was he really so little interested in her? Or did he think she was not interested in him? In spite of Dr. Farmer's elaborate documentation their exact relationship still remains obscure. Others were more outspoken in their affection, particularly Mrs. Patrick Campbell, who paid several visits to Lucy and was deeply distressed by her death.

In 1914 Lucy moved to a furnished house in Grove Park, Camberwell. Dr. Farmer says that "the surroundings in the new locality . . . were scarcely consonant with so febrile a constitution as Lucy". I find this an odd opinion. At that time Grove Park was a quiet backwater, with a splendid view over London (which it still has). The discomfort which Lucy suffered must have been due to the fact that she had to store her own furniture. It is true that she said: "I don't much fancy living in the purlieus", but that was perhaps a natural reaction at having to move from Gloucester Gate. To anyone born in the neighbourhood the idea that either Grove Park or Champion Hill were off the map seems a little quaint.

J. A. W.

The Everlasting Circle. English Traditional Verse from the MSS of S. Baring-Gould, H. E. D. Hammond and George B. Gardiner. By James Reeves. pp. xvi + 303. (Heinemann, London, 1960, 25s.)

The possession by folksong of intelligible words, lyric or narrative, enables it to be isolated from its kindred, folklore and folk dance, to be exalted above them as a political and moral idea (Herder) or as an art *sui generis* (Sharp and Vaughan Williams), in which tune takes precedence over words (Folk Song Society); and, in another direction altogether, to be regarded quite simply as peasant poetry which, at its worst may be doggerel, at its best achieve evocative beauty, embalm history, and, taken over several centuries, illumine changing social conditions and beliefs; which, examined closely, may provide curiosities in the uses of language (but seldom or never of dialect in its true sense) and call in question the theories that historically assign the conception of 'the folk' and their songs to the Romantic Movement. From the seventeenth century onwards the inclination towards either words or tunes can be seen. There are more tunes in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, centuries later discovered 'in the field', than one might suppose: many more in early editions of 'The Dancing Master' and 'Music's Delight on the Cittern'; the interest of gentlemen of wit and learning in narrative ballads during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the development of Shakespeare studies and of antiquarian taste, the growth and efflorescence in the nineteenth century of what is now called local history, were all able and ready to contain within their circumference 'songs of the peasantry' without reference to Continental *a priori* theories of 'the folk'.

Just 112 years after the collection so-named was issued by the Percy

Society¹ Mr. James Reeves attracted public interest anew with his 'Idiom of the People', verse from the manuscripts of Cecil Sharp (1958), and has now followed it with 'The Everlasting Circle' from the manuscripts of Sabine Baring-Gould, rector of Lew Trenchard, H. E. D. Hammond, classical scholar and sometime Director of Education in Rhodesia, and George B. Gardiner, classical master at Edinburgh Academy. Baring-Gould, the only one of the three who desired to popularize and revive folksong, had some collaboration with Cecil Sharp, who admired his work (even while criticizing) as the first attempt systematically to collect folksong; Hammond and Gardiner were both friends of Vaughan Williams, the former bequeathing to him the considerable volume of manuscripts of his Dorset collecting, the latter depending on him (and others) for the noting of tunes beyond his capacity to undertake. Very little of Hammond's or Gardiner's material has been published outside the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*. Baring-Gould, through his own act of rewriting texts, has done himself disservice: few people realize how invaluable a record is contained in his annotations, or that he was much in advance of his time in comparative knowledge (particularly in regard to the folksongs of France); fewer still have knowledge of the original manuscript texts, and probably even fewer have pursued the references to the collections of plebeian garlands in the British Museum (as illuminating as they are unedifying) or have examined this connoisseur's private collection of broadsides retained there. In presenting the original texts of a number of songs received by Baring-Gould from oral communication in this anthology of 142 items, Mr. Reeves dissipates much misconception of the author's own making, and moreover allows Baring-Gould, at his best, to speak for himself in the notes on the singers, illustrated by engaging contemporary drawings by F. D. Bedford² and facsimiles of the manuscripts.

George Gardiner and the reader meet almost for the first time, and the reader may wonder why they have not met before; but, by the knowledgeable, publication of the Hammond songs has been long awaited. It is not only that the collection has great range and bulk; it represents the labours of a discriminating and perceptive man, who took country life as he found it and was one of the very few collectors of the twentieth century who related song to the life, customs, practices and beliefs that engendered it. It is not insignificant that all three collectors here represented were scholars.

The provenance of the songs in this anthology is therefore contained chiefly in Devon, Cornwall, Dorset and Hampshire, the last three of which exhibit to this day remarkable, even primitive seasonal manifestations accompanied with 'suitable songs', having cognates in, at first sight, unexpected places. The may-songs accompanying the luck-bringing perambulations of Padstow and Helston reappear in the 'may-singing' of the North West (a different matter from the may-garlanding songs that stretch across the 'waist' of England from Cambridgeshire to Hampshire): the 'disguises' worn in the Hampshire winter-perambulations, among

¹ 'Ancient Poems, Ballads and Songs of the Peasantry of England', collected and edited by J. H. Dixon (1846).

² From Baring-Gould's 'Old Country Life' (Methuen, 1890).

the finest in England, have their nearest cognates among the 'spirit-guisers' of Orkney and the strawboys of Ireland. Mr. Reeves includes texts, as noted by Baring-Gould, of the Cornish may-songs (Nos. 61 and 104)—though it should be remembered that these true carols of burden-and-stanza form are necessarily varied by improvisation—and, surprisingly, a version of 'Poor old horse' (No. 106, Hammond Collection) from West Milton. It is not clear whether the singer was a native or had brought the song from elsewhere. This type of animal-masking is virtually unknown in the South; it belongs west of the Pennines, and, tacked on as an after-piece, minus the song, to the plough-play of the East Midlands. Another unexpected item of a different kind is 'Bushes and briars' (No. 18)—so reminiscent of Blake—previously published only by Vaughan Williams, also from Dorset, whence comes too 'The grey cock', subject of one of Child's worst misjudgments, almost unknown in England, except by a note in Chappell^a and, much-corrupted, in various songsters, but recovered as one of the most poetic of supernatural ballads by Sharp in the Appalachians. In some instances, such as 'Eggs in her basket' (No. 35, Gardiner), a fuller text than others previously known makes clear that this is a different story from another, or others, with which it has been mistakenly identified. The roving knight, the travelling journeyman who have inspired types of medieval European song, are to be found here, and inevitably the miller, the universal folk-figure that in the present century has inspired 'The Three-Cornered Hat' and 'La Femme du boulanger'.

Mr. Reeves devotes a substantial part of his introduction to consideration of the varieties of folksong, the theme of fertility, and "the *lingua franca*" of folksong (a term adopted from 'A Guide to Folk Song Collections' (1954), where certain recurrent turns of phrase were considered in relation to medieval poetry). All three of these sections show how little of what is known and documented concerning the relation of folksong to folklore and to seasonal observances has been communicated to the interested public in England, how firmly, and it must be added, how disastrously, certain catch-words, such as 'ritual' and 'fertility-rite' have become rooted in the public mind without any clear understanding of what they mean, how difficult it is to identify the vestigial pagan survivals of Britain, to discriminate between the value of one statement and another, without knowledge of comparative manifestations (and their songs) in Europe.

'Fertility' is a tiresome, overworked euphemism; but the purpose of seasonal luck-bearing perambulations (often symbolically phallogoric) is universally the promotion of (literal) fertility in farm and field. Mr. Reeves's argument in this section of the preface is too narrowly based and too much emphasizes the human impulses. Ribald songs and ballads may please at convivial and other occasions, but few of the many in this collection belong to the purposive seasonal celebrations, and when it comes to commenting upon these Mr. Reeves betrays that it is indeed difficult, without much time-taking labour, to present conclusions acceptable to the comparative folklorist and anthropologist, and to prevent the layman from applying Teutonic mythology to Ibero-Celtic manifestations; to talk about "the black stallion of the old fertility-rite" is, to be brutal, rubbish. Many

^a "Saw you my father".

survivals in England are certainly pagan but far less certainly ancient. Conjectured antiquity as a standard of merit (Bukofzer's "naïve admiration of the old merely because it is old") is valueless, frequently disproved, and unimportant: what is important is to relate the individual manifestation to the framework of a larger whole. This Mr. Reeves has yet to come to.

As regards "the *lingua franca* of folk song" it should be granted that such a *lingua franca* exists, that it subsists in the object named, not in words, and so can pass from country to country independently of language. It is common to folksong, and with some variation to many folk practices, whence it is well-known to anthropologists (as privileged journals will confirm); it is also recognizable to psychologists, though they may express astonishment at its presence in folksong, which they associate with the school class-room. Anyone who handles a large number of folksong texts can hardly fail to observe that certain words and phrases recur in a consistent manner and in similar contexts. He may see that this vocabulary is not confined to folksong, that characters in Swift's 'Polite Conversations' are acquainted with it; and if Tennyson did not consciously employ it in 'The Lady of Shalott' his chance use was remarkably accurate. If he examines the plebeian garlands mentioned above he will encounter it again in a form so gross as to be unmistakable. Mr. Reeves has therefore performed a service to folksong—both as a contribution to linguistics and towards rescuing it from the class-room and the women-and-children's section of singing festivals—by bringing this characteristic to the notice of a larger public than heretofore. But it must be said that some of his interpretations, limited as they must be in a work intended for general consumption, are no more than personal conjectures, and tend to attribute to folksong abstract considerations more appropriate to allegory (such as courtesy, modesty, repentance), incongruous with its general characteristics. He might have second thoughts if he consulted Farmer's 'Slang and its Analogues', or went back to medieval verse to be saved guesses; for while these turns of speech have little or nothing in common with the 'Allegory of Love' or with Spenser, they have much in common with the conceptions informing 'Le Roman de la Rose', with its castle, its garden enclosed and the flowers within—images often, in folksong, transmogrified into terms of landscape and cottage garden, and still not entirely obsolete in country speech.

But with this caveat 'The Everlasting Circle' is a more substantial book than 'The Idiom of the People', more fully organized and of broader base. It should be of value to the student, providing him with a new train of thought upon a subject too long hedged about with romantic sentiment. In England, as distinct from Europe and America, folklore, in its comprehensive sense (including music, dance and game) has no academic status; there is no expository teaching, no criterion of knowledge of an authority that the adult with an academic background, such as Mr. Reeves's own, can accept as a starting-point; no security for the author of such a book as this against falling into pitfalls and being assailed by contradictory personal opinions. Nevertheless, Mr. Reeves's two volumes should enable folksong to make afresh a contribution to history and letters: to prompt such questions as who sang the songs, and when, and why? Were they

always sung, in their rightful context, in the manner in which they were collected from the solitary singer? Why are they, with rarest exceptions, in metropolitan English instead of the tongue of local speech as recorded in dialect glossaries? What tasks, labours, occasions and beliefs engendered them and moulded their form? Both 'The Idiom of the People' and 'The Everlasting Circle' should contribute towards the placing of English folksong in the context of ethnomusicology—a term seldom applied to the peasant practices of the England, which Dr. Margaret Murray has so truly described as 'the great undiscovered'. M. D.-S.

Mozart and his Times. By Erich Schenk. Edited and translated from the German by Richard & Clara Winston. pp. xv + 452 + xxiii. (Secker & Warburg, London, 1960, 50s.)

The innocent reader, unacquainted with the original German text, may well wonder what exactly is meant by 'edited'. The answer is simple: Professor Schenk's book has been drastically cut. The reasons for this operation may be purely commercial. On the other hand the translators may have felt that the narrative would be improved by compression. It is true that German authors are inclined to be prolix; but on the whole Professor Schenk does not waste words. We are not told if he approved of this abridgement; it would be surprising if he had. The sentences and passages—sometimes whole paragraphs—which have been omitted are not tiresome irrelevancies: they serve to complete a picture or to add valuable information. The result of the cutting is that the book seems often to move at an uncomfortably fast tempo. This is a pity, because Professor Schenk tells his story well and enlivens it with substantial quotations from Mozart's letters and other contemporary sources. In so far as a biography of a composer is possible without a discussion of the music, this is a good one. The author has designed it for "the reader who shuns the conventional biographies of musicians because large parts of them are incomprehensible to him". It might be pertinent to ask whether a reader who has no intelligent interest in music is likely to want to read about a composer at all. Professor Schenk obviously thinks he is, and has made generous provision for him. His book is an attempt "to sum up the results of my own and others' research". It is the misfortune of any author that research is always one step ahead of him. Hence we are still told that the part of Sextus in 'La clemenza di Tito' was written for a woman and that Mozart was buried in a snow-storm. We now know that neither of these statements is true, but the evidence against them obviously appeared too late even for the English edition.

The translation reads well, apart from one or two incidental Americanisms which grate on the English ear—in particular the totally unnecessary use of *œuvre* for 'output', a piece of pretentiousness which is beginning to infect English writers as well. There is a mistranslation in the letter which Mozart sent to Martini on September 4, 1776: "these motets" should be "this motet". Mozart, writing in Italian, has "questo mottetto": he is referring to the *offertorium* 'Misericordias Domini' (K. 222). "Chest register" is not a very happy translation of *Brustpositiv*, and the reference to "the duets of trumpet and French horn" in the excerpt from a con-

temporary account of 'Figaro' at Prague is likely to puzzle the English reader. These, however, are small points: so is Professor Schenk's statement that Mozart had to work on 'Mitridate' "at so frantic a speed that his fingers ached from writing". What Mozart said was that his fingers ached from writing recitatives, which is not quite the same thing. It is questionable whether it is legitimate to describe the tuning of the viola a semitone sharp in the 'Sinfonia concertante' as a resurrection of "the baroque effect of *scordatura*"; and it is difficult to see exactly how Mozart introduced into 'La clemenza di Tito' "much of the sentimentality and bonhomie of Freemasonry" or why Titus is said to behave "like another Sarastro". But enough. Abridgement or not, the book is frankly enjoyable. It is only the publishers who need ask themselves whether they have dealt fairly with the reader.

J. A. W.

Über subjektive Differenzttöne höchster hörbarer Töne und des angrenzenden Ultraschalls im musikalischen Hören. By Jobst Fricke. pp. 148. (Bossé, Regensburg, 1960, DM. 12.80.)

By the beginning of the present century the science of acoustics had almost reached a stationary condition. Progress was practically nil. Helmholtz and Rayleigh seemed to have exhausted all aural and physical topics except for Sabine's pioneering work on the acoustical properties of the auditorium begun in 1895. Not inaptly had acoustics been described as the Cinderella of physics and the playground of the mathematician interested only in the general theory of vibrations. Musicians could scarcely be blamed for regarding acoustics as a science far removed from their art. Then came, almost suddenly, demands upon the science from the applications of electricity in daily life, e.g. radio, sound recording, telephony, the cinema, sound ranging, hearing aids for the deaf and (later) television. From these applications emerged a new branch of the science, the psychology of hearing, concerned with aspects of sensory perception not previously realized, the study of which has resulted in the development of the new technology of acoustical engineering with important connections with the art of music. Many properties of the human ear came to light that were unsuspected in earlier work, e.g. variations in pitch-sensitivity over the aural range, dependence of pitch upon intensity, effects of pitch on feeling (pleasure-pain), the possibility of measuring accurately changes in 'loudness' and matters connected with the perception of the quality (or timbre) of tones. Indeed there is scarcely any aural topic that has not been enriched by these comparatively recent discoveries.

Research still goes forward. Thus the volume before us is essentially a detailed report of extensive experimental investigations on certain aspects of sensory perception involved in music. It is one of a series of sixteen treatises by Cologne musicologists under the general editorship of Professor Fellerer, and deals with problems related to the origin and musical significance of combination tones. Consider two tones of frequencies 384 c/s (middle G) and 256 c/s (middle C). When sounded together they produce another tone of frequency 384 minus 256 or 128 c/s (octave below middle C). This is called a difference tone of the first order.

Practical examples of difference tones are to be found in the acoustic bass stop on an organ and in the action of a referee's double-barrelled whistle. There is also a summation tone of frequency 384 plus 256 or 640 c/s. Summation and difference tones are called combination tones. (On nomenclature, it should be noted that the epithets 'differential' and 'summational' occurring in some music text-books are no longer used.) The phenomenon becomes very complicated when we take into account the difference and summation tones arising from the combination of both the fundamentals and overtones of the generating tones together with combination tones already produced.

In the psychology of hearing, two particular problems arise: (1) what is the effect of the combination tones upon quality (or timbre) and consonance? (2) how do the combination tones originate; for example, are they manufactured by the ear itself? Fricke's experimental work sheds much fresh light upon these matters as a result of carefully conducted practical tests. He describes very fully (with photographs) his apparatus for giving accurately measured sound pressures with many graphs to make clear what conclusions may be drawn from his observations. The whole forms a notable contribution to some of the baffling problems that were first raised by Helmholtz a hundred years ago. A comprehensive bibliography rounds off this excellent piece of original research. H. L.

Studien zur Satztechnik der mittelalterlichen englischen Musik. By Ernst Apfel. 2 vols. pp. 107, 145. (Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1959, DM.49.00.)

This is the first detailed study of the development of polyphony in England from the Worcester music to the Old Hall manuscript and a little beyond. The part of this territory which lies between the 'Worcester Fragments' (edited by Dittmer) and Old Hall (edited by Ramsbotham, Collins and Hughes) is virtually unexplored, and Dr. Apfel has pioneered it with admirable thoroughness. Apart from the most recent discoveries, the list of manuscripts and fragments which follows his introduction is virtually complete. The preliminary matter also includes a bibliography and an index of texts. The latter has references to the page on which the source is later listed with its contents, though not to the page on which the work is discussed, which would have been a useful addition.

The first chapter deals with compositions notated in separate parts, from the Worcester group to before Old Hall, and begins with a list of the intervening sources and their relevant contents. The second chapter discusses pieces written in score notation in the same period. Here, however, the list of works is arranged by liturgical categories under two headings, with and without (or without identified) *cantus firmus*. This kind of list is less convenient to consult and more open to change as *cantus firmi* are identified and distinctions between categories become more refined. Thus 'Mater ora filium' in the section 'Conductus and Sequences' (actually it is a votive antiphon) is based on its plainsong tune (in the middle part), which I have found in a manuscript Processional from Lincoln now in the Vatican Library (Ottob. Lat. 308, fo. 154). The third and final chapter deals with the contents of the Old Hall manuscript, the Fountains fragment, and the leaves in Bodleian Library, Add. C. 87. The

inclusion of this last, with music by Benet, Plummer and Bedyngham, is curious. It seems much too late to fit into the author's general plan.

In the second volume we are given a selection of sixteen facsimiles, none of which has previously been available, and transcriptions of sixty pieces, none previously printed complete. Potentially this is a most valuable part of the author's enterprise. In the form in which it is presented it is an opportunity sadly missed. Some of the facsimiles are unusable: granted that the originals are in poor state, could not others more suitable for reproduction have been chosen? Coming to the transcriptions, one is astonished to find that they are given in a pseudo-original notation. Performers will not be able to use them, the specialized scholar will in any case want to see the originals, and the student's budding curiosity will be given a fatally cold douche. The texts are difficult to read, offer no help to the understanding, and are not free of misreadings and omissions. The general standard of musical accuracy, judged on a brief acquaintance, is good, though we are left in doubt on some points of detail. The end of No. 17 is not lacking in the manuscript, and the repeats are clearly indicated there, though omitted in the transcription. One's final feeling about this volume is one of gratitude, however qualified, for so much unknown music of the English Middle Ages, disappointed though one may be that its form does not achieve the wider purposes which the author evidently did not have in mind.

The pervading motif of Apfel's discussions and analyses might be expressed as 'the Englishness of English Music'. This is more or less valid for any period, and particularly so for this one, in which the most striking feature of English music is its variety of technical methods and liturgical forms as compared with Continental practice. The proposition (p. 10) that the earliest English motets contain the germ of all the traits of English technique in the fifteenth century is, however, just as true of France, and the word 'all' needs almost as much qualification. Apfel's final conclusion, among others, that England was musically autonomous (*selbständig*) during the period covered by his study certainly presses his case too far. The waxing and waning of French influence and the mutual interactions of style between the two countries need much closer study before drawing such broad conclusions. It would seem to me that the times of strongest French influence were the late thirteenth century, from c. 1330 to c. 1360, and from c. 1390 to the completion of the second layer of Old Hall, which I think must belong to the reign of Henry V (1413-21). Apfel refers to French prototypes, of which there is ample evidence, for the late thirteenth-century Westminster Abbey motets (p. 26, n. 22). He greatly underestimates French influence later. I have recently found in an English source a group of leaves with French motets of the fourteenth century, including two by Philippe de Vitry. Apfel seems to dissent from my interpretation in 'Music in Medieval Britain' of the development of English style in the early fifteenth century under the influence of the French *chanson* (p. 91, n. 10), though this method of composition, which he calls 'klanglichfreie Diskantsatz' in connection with the mature fifteenth-century style on the Continent (p. 91), is earlier (p. 10) said to have arisen in England.

The author's terminology is, in fact, quite unhelpful, as he seems to

have realized at a late stage in this study (see p. 104). In his index of texts he uses terms which describe a method of composition, some taken over from Dittmer (with reservations which I share—see p. 33), and terms which denote a liturgical category—though Sequence, for example, is not used in the strict liturgical sense. Though it was no part of his purpose to place the music he discusses in a liturgical-historical context, it would have been clearer to show the liturgical categories involved in a separate column. Their connection with the polyphonic techniques used during this period is a subject which still needs investigation. It may be useful to add that the lower parts of Bodleian Library, Hatton 81, No. 3 are based (in *rondellus* fashion) on the prose 'Sospitati dedit aegros', and that the tenor (in the middle voice) of New College 362, No. 10 is 'Regalis ex progenie'.

F. Ll. H.

Ravel, Life and Works. By Rollo H. Myers. pp. 239. (Duckworth, London, 1960, 30s.)

In the foreword to this study of a composer who has so far eluded his biographers, Mr. Myers leads us to believe that it is to be based on a psychological approach. "The main task of a biographer", he says, "is clearly to stress as far as possible the connection between the inner life of the artist, with all its secret tensions, aspirations and deceptions, and its outward projection as revealed in his works." More precisely, his aim is "to discover to what extent the music of Maurice Ravel can be said to represent the integral man". I wish I could say that this desirable approach had been pursued and that the goal set had been reached. Presently, a theory is defined which suggests that Ravel's work is not a reflection of his inner life at all and that we need look no further into any aspect of it. "The dichotomy", we read, "between the man and the artist was complete in the sense that [Ravel] was determined not to use his art as a vehicle for the expression of private and personal sentiments."

In fairness it is right to say that this theory is arrived at as the result of an argument which does expose an inner conflict with which Ravel had to wrestle. The conflict was between sincerity and make-believe. According to Roland-Manuel, Ravel developed, in wrestling with his dual nature, an "aesthetic of imposture", a sophisticated interplay of the real and the unreal, taking the form of harmonic and orchestral delights which could still be extracted from a musical language in decline. The main inspiration of Mr. Myers's study, this interpretation of Ravel's personality was held to be valid in the composer's lifetime, particularly since Ravel himself—as is often the case when an image of an artist is widely publicized—seemed anxious to endorse it in his conversations and correspondence. At times, however, he expressed another feeling. A corrective to the current image of him is indicated in a letter to the critic Jean Marnold in which, writing of a work of his performed in 1906, he indignantly exclaims: "Délicat, raffiné, quintessencié—flûte! Je ne croyais pas me tromper à ce point sur moi-même". The interjection "flûte" denotes a pretty high degree of annoyance.

Adhering to the established view, Mr. Myers gives a complete account of the external facts of Ravel's life, followed by a discussion of his style and concise analyses and appraisements of each of his works. The bio-

graphical section is enriched by extracts from a series of hitherto unpublished letters written by Ravel to his pupil Vaughan Williams between 1908 and 1919. We see Ravel anxious to introduce early works of Vaughan Williams in France, among them 'On Wenlock Edge', in which Ravel planned to play the piano part. He also planned to publish an article on Vaughan Williams and apparently promised Fox Strangways a contribution to *Music & Letters*. Among a series of unpublished photographs is one of Ravel with another English pupil, Lennox Berkeley.

Whatever may be the merits of the traditional view of Ravel we may profitably seek today a new interpretation—that, in fact, which Mr. Myers had encouraged us to expect. It is surprising that the musical mind of Ravel, who was a contemporary of the great analytical writers André Gide and Marcel Proust, has not been the subject of a psychological enquiry before now, and it is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Myers did not follow his instinct to explore this illuminating hinterland. What are the facts? Ravel's emotional life was dominated by two figures: his mother and his brother. From these root attachments he never broke away, and it is clear that on the emotional plane his range of experience must have been restricted. A psychological study would investigate elements in Ravel's character, probably arrested at an early age, that were able to provide the mature man with the child-like vision at the core of 'Ma Mère l'Oye' and 'L'Enfant et les Sortilèges'.

Such probings are not so remote from the sphere of musical biography as they may seem. It is not within the province of psychology to influence æsthetic evaluations, but it can relate these evaluations to wide fields of human experience and often explain baffling developments in a composer's life and work. Mr. Myers draws attention to the emptiness of 'Boléro' and also to the powerful inspiration of the following work, the left-hand piano concerto, in which Ravel came nearest to bursting the vein of his genius. The contrast between these two works is alarming, and indeed they were shortly to be followed by the collapse from which he never recovered. Tension had been brought to breaking-point, and beyond. The interesting point is that during these final, sterile years Ravel was convinced that his finest music was still to be written. Mr. Myers mentions only a physical cause of Ravel's collapse. The rigid pattern governing his emotional life must surely indicate an underlying psychological cause.

Writing of the relationship between Ravel and Debussy, Mr. Myers says: "Both were alive to the necessity of protecting French music against the danger of Wagnerian influences". I think this is debatable; and it suggests a musical culture unnaturally driven into isolation and preciosity. Who wished to 'protect' French music? In fact, Debussy's musical imagination had been abundantly fertilized by Wagner. Ravel's was not, and could not have been, if only for the reason that Wagner's symbolism and philosophy sprang from depths forbidden to him by his very nature. On the other hand, Ravel, as Mr. Myers shows, was nothing of a chauvinist. His guide to the æsthetic cross-currents in the works of Ravel and Debussy is useful, failing only to embrace the influence in France of Richard Strauss. 'Salome' affected Ravel profoundly, as Romain Rolland, alive to his compatriot's limitations and having at heart the interests of a wide European musical scene, faithfully recorded.

E. L.

Diplomas in Music. By T. C. L. Pritchard. pp. 112. (Dent, London, 1960, 12s. 6d.)

The author has committed to paper some of the advice which an experienced coach would spread and often repeat over a course of lessons. It would be unfair to judge the book as if it were addressed to the sort of reader who subscribes to this periodical. Parts of it seem to be for particularly stupid or careless aspirants to professional diplomas, who are told to scan 'paper work' lest they have failed to insert accidentals, or to take note of the key signature before sight reading; yet examiners who, as Dr. Pritchard says, are usually sensitive and sympathetic, happy to pass and sorry to fail, know how many candidates lack the intelligence to read the syllabus or to postpone entrance until a reliable judge advises them to do so. "Others fail from sheer carelessness". Advice to such people cannot but seem platitudinous, despite a few points that are worth the attention of better students, for instance: "Scales in double octaves should be played with the hands up towards the black notes", or "Nervousness is after all due to thinking of oneself rather than of the music". Even those whose nervousness is not increased by misgivings about what they have scamped should have the sense to know that part of "the discipline of examination is to overcome the outward effects of anxiety". Most diploma seekers intend to perform or teach, and if this sort of book helps them to control "the outward effects of anxiety" its publication is worth while.

A. H.

Man and his Music. Vol. II: *Late Renaissance and Baroque Music (c. 1525-c. 1750).* By Alec Harman & Anthony Milner. pp. ix + 330. (Barrie & Rockliff, London, 1959, 27s. 6d.)

The present volume completes the joint enterprise of Mr. Mellers and Mr. Harman and serves very well the purpose for which the series is designed—not only to inform but also to interest boys and girls in the upper forms of schools and to provide undergraduates with an introduction to more advanced study. Mr. Harman writes clearly and manages to pack a great deal of information into his pages without giving the impression that he is cramped for room. His style would have been even better if he had managed to avoid colloquialisms. It is neither elegant nor accurate to describe Janequin's 'La Guerre' as "a positive smash-hit". Quite apart from the fact that 'positive' means virtually nothing, it would be difficult to think of any piece of Renaissance music that could be called a 'smash-hit': even the best-known pieces reached only a comparatively narrow circle of music-lovers, and they would have been unlikely to describe the objects of their admiration in vulgar terms. I cannot feel that it is pedantic to bristle at phrases like "the high spot of Weelkes's secular output", "it was Galilei who set the ball rolling" and "a pronounced preference for rhythmically simple and melodically catchy songs". Mr. Harman is so good at organizing his material that he might have given a little more thought to its presentation. There is no need to talk down to school-children, and racy expressions which may just pass muster in a lecture look far less happy on the printed page.

The music examples might well have been more numerous; but they are quite well chosen and they are supplemented by frequent references to the Harvard anthology. It is a pity that Mr. Harman was not more enterprising in his selection of sources. Too many of his examples are quoted from secondary sources, including anthologies. It seems hardly necessary to cite Perinello's edition of a Caccini madrigal when the original edition is available in facsimile. In one case this dependence on others has led to error. The example from Locke's 'Tempest' music on p. 189 is taken from Whittaker's edition for amateur orchestras. It includes two simultaneous false relations, one of which is described by Mr. Harman as "a miscalculation, not a crudity". In fact it is neither—merely an example of a type of misprint familiar in the seventeenth century: a sharp belonging to two successive notes on the same line is printed before the second instead of before the first. The second false relation has no justification in the original: both the E's are flat, just as in the previous bar both the E's are natural. The whole question of false relations at this period is interesting; but it does not help inexperienced students to print an example which is patently wrong.

Mr. Harman's facts seem to be accurate for the most part, and generally up-to-date. A few points cause a slight twitching of the eyebrow. A note is missing from the harmonic series on p. 9, with the result that the note four octaves above the fundamental is numbered 15. Shakespeare's 'Tempest' can hardly be considered "the finest masque ever written". It would be interesting to have the evidence for the statement that "English musical culture" in the madrigalian era "was largely amateur". It is not true to say that the Italian toccata was "almost entirely ornamental" or to describe its style as "essentially florid". It is too much a simplification to say of Gabrieli's 'Sonata pian' e forte that "when only one chorus is playing the music is soft (piano), but when both combine then it is loud (forte)": there are passages in this piece where the two choruses play together *piano*, and in one case the *forte* of one chorus is heard against the *piano* of the other. The 'new music' of the late sixteenth century was not simply a recreation of Greek drama: it existed independently of the theatre, as Caccini's 'Nuove Musiche' shows. There are minor errors in the account of Monteverdi's 'Orfeo'. The string ensemble is for violins, violas and cellos, not for viols; 'Possente spirito' is sung by Orpheus to Charon, not to Pluto; and there is no evidence that *castrati* were employed in this opera. It is an exaggeration to say that Cesti's *bel canto* style "became the first real instance of homophony in the history of music": there are plenty of earlier examples. Though it is true that the bass of the Neapolitan sixth frequently moves to the dominant of the key, it is misleading to say that it "usually" does so, nor do the two instances in Mr. Harman's example (Ex. 23b) illustrate this progression. Finally, the observations on opera prefixed to 'The Fairy Queen' are not by Purcell but by the author of the adaptation.

Mr. Milner's share in the volume is restricted to the two concluding chapters, where he has to cover Baroque music "in church, hall and home" and instrumental music of the same period in a mere 50 pages. This involves some compression, but like Mr. Harman he moves easily through his complex material, and the result is a clear outline, though it can

hardly be much more. It is not quite clear what Handel's oratorios are doing in the first chapter, unless they are assumed to come under the heading 'music for the hall'. No doubt the answer would be that they do not fit into any obvious category. Mr. Milner's comparison of Bach and Handel is thoughtful but a little too summary. "Whereas Handel's music", he says, "looks outward, every note being designed to make an immediate impression on its audience, Bach's is introspective, full of detail that can only be perceived through careful listening and a sympathetic understanding." This sounds rather like the generalization of a conscientious examinee; and like most generalizations it is not strictly true. J. A. W.

Words on Music. By Ernst Bacon. pp. 183. (Syracuse University Press, New York, 1960, \$4.00.)

This is a handsome university publication of a series of aphoristic essays on the contemporary scene, trenchantly discussing singers, players, conductors, composers and teachers. The most important discussion to American ears is doubtless that of patronage. In this country we are still some way from some of these problems. It is all very well to complain that "American philanthropy always starts with the temples. What is to fill them is secondary". Would that we even had the temples to misuse! There are succinct true sayings in abundance: of recordings, "the performer (not the living composer) now enjoys posterity"; of graduate students, "for whom Schubert songs are but an episode to be listed with some indulgence in the grand evolutionary flight from a past that never was to a future no one would wish to experience"; of conductors, "a number of orchestral directors of prominence are persons whose careers date from the moment of realization of their insufficiency as pianists, violinists, composers, or organists". Not all is in this vein; there are some constructive ideas and a telling discussion of what and why we teach. But for these, as for one or two good stories, it is fair to refer the reader to the book.

I. K.

Renoir und Wagner. By Willi Schuh. pp. 57. (Rentsch, Erlenbach-Zürich & Stuttgart, 1959, DM.25.00.)

Despite Wagner's freely expressed hatred of France and contempt for French musical life provoked by his unhappy experiences in Paris, and notwithstanding the angry reaction in defeated France to that tasteless pamphlet 'Eine Kapitulation', there was during the 1870-80's an important minority among the younger French intellectuals who fell under the spell of Bayreuth. Among them was Auguste Renoir, the impressionist painter.

Renoir was not particularly musical, and, though he attended Wagner concerts in Paris and was overwhelmed by "the passionate flow of sound", he found the music-dramas boring when he visited Bayreuth in 1896. But as a painter he was fascinated by Wagner's "wonderful head", which he attempted to portray in various media from 1867 onwards until 1917. The earliest of these portraits is a pencil-sketch based on a photograph; the most famous are the two portraits in oils, one of which, painted

in 1882, is in M. Alfred Cortot's collection and will eventually go to the Louvre, the other a copy of the head on a rather larger scale made in 1893 and now at the Paris Opéra. In addition there is another pencil-drawing, obviously related to the oil-painting of 1882, a lithograph of which one hundred examples (besides some proofs) were published in 1900, and lastly a large sculptured medallion made between 1915 and 1917, which has disappeared without trace.

The history of Renoir's enthusiasm for Wagner and of the various portraits is set out fully in Willi Schuh's monograph. In particular, he assembles all the evidence about the sitting which Wagner gave to the painter on 15 January 1882. At the time Renoir recorded his experience in a lengthy letter to a correspondent (whose identity has not been established), which Schuh prints in full in a German translation. According to Renoir's account, he learned, while on a visit to Naples in January 1882, that Wagner was staying at Palermo, whither he took boat in the hope of obtaining a sitting from the composer. Wagner had been at Palermo for some months, putting the finishing touches to the score of 'Parsifal', and when Renoir called at the Hôtel des Palmes on 12 January, he was told that Wagner was not receiving visitors that day. He was more fortunate on the following day, for he encountered Paul von Joukowsky, a member of Wagner's entourage, who, himself a painter, sympathized with Renoir's ambition but told him that Wagner could not see him while he was engaged on 'Parsifal', of which the score was in fact finished that same day.

So on 14 January, with Joukowsky as intermediary, Renoir obtained an interview with Wagner, who consented to give him a sitting for his portrait the following morning. Wagner was exhausted by his work and already subject to heart-attacks. After sitting for thirty-five minutes, he grew tired and ill-humoured and ended the sitting. Looking at Renoir's work he exclaimed: "Ah! ah! I look like a Protestant pastor!" However, Renoir felt that he had not completely failed; at least he had made a "small record of those marvellous features".

What was this "small record"? Hitherto it has always been assumed that it was the pencil sketch, which is associated with the oil-painting dated "15 janvier 82". But on the strength of that date Schuh insists that Renoir painted the portrait in oils at that half-hour session. Looking at the two excellent reproductions of these two portraits (the oil in colour), I find this difficult to believe. The pencil-drawing has all the signs of a literal record of what the draughtsman had in front of him. By contrast, the oil-painting is impressionistic and freely drawn. Compare, for instance, the treatment of the collar and tie—in the drawing it has an almost photographic exactness, while in the painting these items are made to contribute to the general effect of the composition. It is difficult to believe that the precise drawing with its tight pencil-strokes could be a copy of the oil-painting, as Schuh suggests. It differs in style completely, one may add, from the earlier drawing of 1865, where Renoir, copying a photograph, adopts a freer technique.

Further confirmation of this point is to be found in Renoir's letter where, remarking on Wagner's weariness, he says: "I regretted that I am not Ingres", meaning presumably that he had not Ingres's swift facility

which would have enabled him to do full justice to his subject in half-an-hour. But it was only with his pencil that Ingres was quick. As a painter in oils there can have been few more meticulous and patient craftsmen. So it must surely have been as a draughtsman that Renoir thought of him when he wished he were Ingres. There seems no reason why, with the drawing to work from, he should not have set to work on the oil-painting when he returned to his hotel a little after mid-day on 15 January, which would account for the date on the canvas and would also allow time for the completion of what, though itself little more than a sketch, could hardly have been done in half-an-hour. For what it is worth, one may add the opinion that the drawing looks more like the "protestantischer Priester" of Wagner's derisory comment than the oil.

For the rest Herr Schuh has assembled a great deal of interesting material concerning the Wagnerian coterie in Paris and Renoir's various essays in portraiture, all of which (save the missing bronze) are reproduced. For good measure he also reproduces, as a reward to the man who smoothed the way for Renoir, Joukovsky's rather amateurish portrait of the composer, discovered by M. Cortot at an antique-shop in Belgrade, whose proprietor was unaware of its subject.

D. H.

Syntagma Musicum. I: *Musicae artis Analecta*. By Michael Praetorius. 'Documenta Musicologica', Ser. I, no. xxi. Facsimile edition by Willibald Gurlitt. pp. 460 + [xxxiv]. (Bärenreiter, Cassel & Basel; Novello, London, 1959, £4.)

Praetorius's 'Syntagma Musicum' has long been recognized as a primary source for our knowledge of musical interpretation and resources in the early seventeenth century, but we have had to wait a long time for a complete edition. The second volume, dealing with instruments, was reprinted by Eitner in 1884; the third, covering a survey of musical forms and methods of performance, appeared in a new edition by Bernoulli in 1916. In 1929 Professor Gurlitt published a facsimile edition of the second volume, which was reissued in 1958 with a new *Nachwort*, together with a facsimile of the third volume. The present volume completes the facsimile edition of this monumental work. To the modern reader it is much the least interesting of the three, being concerned primarily with theory and stuffed with those interminable quotations from the Bible, the Christian fathers and ancient writers which scholars of the past considered indispensable in a learned work. No one today is likely to study Praetorius in order to learn about the function of music in the liturgy or its place in the culture of the ancient world; and the few pages at the end on contemporary instruments are superfluous in view of the full discussion in the second volume. The chief value of the book lies in the light it throws on the mentality of the author—on his insatiable curiosity and his passion for encyclopedic knowledge. The original printer seems to have been short of a capital U in the earlier part of the book, which results in odd-looking words like 'uSuS'. Apart from that the author was well served by his Wittenberg publisher, and the facsimile does him full justice. But does it really cost so much to produce a volume which involves virtually no type-setting?

J. A. W.

Die Entwicklung der Musiktheorie in England nach der Zeit von Jean-Philippe Rameau. By Erwin R. Jacobi. pp. 186 + 111. 'Collection d'Études Musicologiques', vols. 39 & 39a. (Heitz, Strasbourg, 1960, Sfr. 42.00.)

In 1957 Erwin R. Jacobi published the first part of this book, containing an introductory chapter about the theory of music in England up to the time of Rameau, and the chapter dealing with theoretical treatises published in England between the date of Rameau's death in 1764 to the middle of the nineteenth century. The publication appeared as Vol. 35 of the 'Collection d'Études Musicologiques', founded by Karl Nef. This separate issue of the first part of Jacobi's Zürich thesis, which highlighted—*inter alia*—the theoretical works of the early English Bach enthusiast and editor Augustus F. C. Kollmann, was received with almost universal acclamation as an important contribution to the understanding of theoretical speculation in the music of eighteenth-century England. Many reviewers expressed at that time regret about the fragmentary character of Jacobi's publication. Now author and publishers have made good the deficiency by publishing the remainder of the thesis in two subsequent volumes of the same collection.

Vol. 39 is chiefly devoted to three important sections of musico-theoretical speculation in Victorian and Edwardian England. To these are added a fascinating chapter on the aspects of musical harmony within the curriculum of present-day universities and musical academies of Great Britain. The bulk of this volume, however, is devoted to Alfred Day and his *Treatise on Harmony*, first published in 1845 and eventually revised by Day's friend and follower, G. A. Macfarren, in 1885. Jacobi discusses in some introductory chapters Day's life and work, and offers a synopsis of the first part of the publication of 1845. On pages 58-110 he publishes a German translation of the second part of Day's *Treatise* ('Chromatic Harmony or Harmony in the Free Style'). In Vol. 39a this part is also reproduced literally as a facsimile reprint of the original first print, together with chapter 14, as edited by Macfarren in 1885, and also with certain emendations which Dr. Jacobi entered in handwriting on the basis of Alfred Day's own autograph annotations. In a short but most enlightening final paragraph the author assesses Day's achievement and his relationship to Rameau's theory, whose 'basse fondamentale' he completely ignored in his own system. In chapter 3 of Vol. 39 Jacobi proceeds to give a bird's-eye view of the opinions of English musical theorists of the later nineteenth century. He not only discusses thoroughly Macfarren's new edition of Day's treatise, but also the harmony treatises of Ouseley, Stainer and Ebenezer Prout. He also offers lucid commentaries on, and large quotations from, critical reviews of Day's treatise by men like Hubert Parry, James Lecky, Ebenezer Prout and Charles W. Pearce. Finally he adds chapters on Herbert Westerby's 'Dual Theory in Harmony' and 'Chromaticism in Harmony', and on Frederick Niecks and his important Musical Association paper 'The two keys to the theory and practice of harmony' (1903).

In a final paragraph on page 209 Dr. Jacobi condenses the result of a questionnaire submitted to important musical educationalists in present-day Britain. According to their views Day's system of harmony, as well as Macfarren's revision, has become completely obsolete and is super-

seded by the manuals of Kitson, Buck, Macpherson and Bairstow. In a very thoughtful postscript the author proves that the peculiarities of the development of music in Britain are faithfully reflected not only in its musical creations (and their remarkable dwindling after the arrival of Handel in England and before the start of the English musical renaissance of 1880) but also in the evolution of theoretical speculation in England from the days of Rameau down to the present time. H. F. R.

The Harp. By Marcel Tournier. English translation by Rita H. Pitt. pp. 94. (Lemoine, Paris; United Music Publishers, London, 1960, 35s.)

Marcel Tournier was a distinguished French harpist who died in 1951. He was professor of the harp at the Paris Conservatoire from 1912 to 1948. This book on the harp (written in 1944-5) is divided into two parts, the first being a history of the harp throughout the world:

As though in a documentary film, I have caused images of harps to pass in turn before the eyes of the reader—from the most primitive harps of Egypt and China, to the most modern of Europe and America . . . The harp has emerged victorious from every epoch, every disaster, every migration, every revolution. It has surmounted every obstacle and continues to do so by the eternal purity of its exquisite sound.

It is difficult to take seriously a work written in this sentimental vein: one begins to doubt not only the author's taste but also his facts. This is no work of scholarship (Tournier in fact scorns the approach of the scholar), and it is all the more disappointing as there is certainly a need of a scientific and reliable history of the harp in the English language. Dr. Hans Joachim Zingel published an excellent treatise on the harp in German in 1932, and more recently an article in 'Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart'. Some of this article was translated into English and published in the American *Harp News* in 1958 and 1959. Marcel Tournier has not availed himself of Zingel's research and appears to have gathered his information from the encyclopedias of Lavignac and Fétis.

The second part of his book is addressed to the composer, with chapters on various aspects of harp writing. In his introduction to this part he says: "So we shall take the classics as our jumping-off point and finish with the most daring trends". Strangely enough, there is no reference to any harp music of the classical period: nothing of Handel (who wrote a concerto for the Welsh triple harp, Op. 4, no. 6 in B \flat , and *obligato* parts for the harp in arias in 'Esther', 'Alexander Balus', 'Alexander's Feast' and other works), nothing of C. P. E. Bach (harp sonata) or of Mozart (flute and harp concerto). And there certainly is nothing which one might consider daring—nothing of Schönberg, Webern, Boulez, Beriot or Stockhausen. In fact the musical illustrations consist only of French music of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Perhaps this section could be useful to a budding composer, but I myself would sooner suggest a study of the harp writing of Handel, Berlioz, Debussy, Ravel, Bartók and Britten. I often feel that it is the composer, and not the player, who extends the technique of instruments. How often has music been presented to a player who claims that it is too difficult or impossible to play, only to find that the students of the next generation take it as a matter of course?

The translation from the French is occasionally confused in the

technical parts, for instance, on p. 65: "Composers nearly always put an arpeggio sign before their chord; this is a mistake, since harpists are perfectly capable of holding chords." I cannot understand what is meant by a "held chord", and if I make a guess, I am further confused by this paragraph on p. 68: "Make a written note of your intentions: whether dry or weighty, held or without arpeggio." The word 'silences' is used on p. 79 to convey what we know as 'rests'. Marcel Dupré, the distinguished French organist, in his preface to the book pays tribute to Marcel Tournier in his triple role of virtuoso, teacher and composer. I only wish I could have agreed that this volume was a valuable essay and a useful contribution to the history of the harp. Had this been published privately as a tribute to a great master of the harp, I would have said Amen, but as a scholarly or even a commercial venture the essay is sadly unsuccessful.

If I may be allowed to digress, I should like to comment on a statement of Thurston Dart in his review of 'William Lawes' in *Music & Letters* of July 1960. Murray Lefkowitz, discussing Lawes's harp consorts, suggests on pp. 91-2 that the harp used in the consorts was the Welsh triple harp (a chromatic instrument). Dart, in his review, thinks that this harp was not yet invented and suggests that "Lawes's harp parts are for the lovely brass-strung Irish harp, not the relatively dull-sounding gut-strung (Welsh) instrument". Zingel, in his article in 'Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart', tells us that Cochlaus wrote in 1512 of harps in Britain with three rows of strings, and Mersenne also mentions the triple harp in his treatise of 1636. As Lawes's music is not always diatonic, I would agree with Lefkowitz that Lawes's harpists played the triple harp, which with its warmth, range and resonance blends well with the violin, bass viol and theorbo.

O. E.

Haydn's Werke in der Musiksammlung der National Bibliothek Széchényi in Budapest.

Haydn Compositions in the Music Collection of the National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

Ed. by Jenő Vécsey. pp. 168. (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 1960.)

Hungarian book-publishing does not share in the general shabbiness which seems to operate behind the Iron Curtain. Both versions of this catalogue are beautifully produced on first-class paper and include 42 excellent plates. It is probable that only Haydn experts are aware of the riches preserved in the National Széchényi Library. In addition to the music, catalogued here, there are numerous documents of every possible kind. Much of the material, including all the autographs, comes from the Esterházy collection, which was acquired as recently as 1949. The autographs include several operas—among them 'La Canterina', 'Lo speziale' and 'Il mondo della luna'—and a number of arias inserted into dramatic works by other composers. Also here are the oratorio version of 'The Seven Words', two complete Masses, 20 symphonies and two string quartets. Copies are numerous and include many sets of orchestral and chamber-music parts. The catalogue is completed by a number of early printed editions.

The introduction stresses Hungarian influences on Haydn, which in fact amount to very little. Haydn's influence on Hungarian music is quite another matter, but that is irrelevant to the purpose of this catalogue. It is fortunate that the Esterházy collection was acquired by the National Széchényi Library before it was dispersed or suffered a worse fate. It is now reasonably accessible; and as it contains many sets of orchestral parts of operas by other eighteenth-century composers it should prove of interest to a wider circle than those who specialize in Haydn's work. The value of orchestral parts is now generally understood: they have in most cases been used for performance and so are often more accurate than a score, whether it is an autograph or a copy. Perhaps Mr. Vécsey will in due course give us a catalogue of the rest of the collection. It would be very welcome.

J. A. W.

An Illustrated History of Music. By Marc Pincherle. Translated by Rollo Myers. pp. 215. (Macmillan, London, 1960, £5 5s.)

The pictures, chosen by Georges and Rosamond Bernier, are superb. Even those which are familiar acquire a new significance from the splendid reproduction; this is particularly true of the illustrations in colour, which in many cases bring to life the very texture of the material on which they were originally painted. If this were all, we should have nothing but a rather expensive picture-book—valuable enough in itself but not strictly a history. The particular value of this volume is that it also includes a masterly summary of the development of music from the ancient world down to the present day. M. Pincherle has hitherto been known as a specialist: here he reveals a more comprehensive talent. One has the illusion that he is seated on a pinnacle, from which he surveys the world of music, if not with complete impartiality, at least with an all-embracing interest. There are few students of music who will not learn something from this epitome; and there are quite a number of historians who could learn something too. There are plenty of writers who can grub about industriously in a small field, but very few who can see their subject as a whole. There are, of course, places where a generalization provokes a question; but at the same time there is a passion for accuracy which one hardly dares expect in a work designed for popular consumption. English music is not neglected, though it naturally occupies a rather smaller place than it would in a work by an English author. It is interesting to notice that M. Pincherle singles out Vaughan Williams as the outstanding composer "of his generation and the next". He also has a word of praise for Sullivan. About the latest manifestations of contemporary music he has his doubts:

Many critics see in the frenzied search for novelty with which the world of music is obsessed, with all its ruthlessness, instability and uncertainty, a reflection of our civilization as it is today. But must this necessarily be music's final destination? To limit its role to that of building up a mirror to a restless and transitory epoch in time is surely to deprive it of its most precious attributes.

The quotation gives some idea of the quality of Mr. Myers's translation, which flows so easily that the uninformed reader would hardly suspect the transference from one language to another.

J. A. W.

REVIEWS OF MUSIC

COLLECTED EDITIONS

Bull, John, *Keyboard Music: I*, ed. by John Steele & Francis Cameron, with introductory material by Thurston Dart. 'Musica Britannica', Vol. XIV. (Stainer & Bell, London, 1960, 84s.)

"He strikes by his vigour, his wish to go straight at his aim without any fear of opposition, his magisterial knowledge, the breadth of his imagination. He is a strong man, a musical power with whom we have to reckon, a mind but little inclined to the feminine tenderness of a Byrd, a poet of manly and at times somewhat dry inspiration." Such is Charles van den Borren's estimate of Bull, given in 1913; it was made on the strength of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, 'Parthenia' and a few other pieces. Since that time more music has become available, our knowledge and interest have greatly increased, performances of great technical and stylistic accomplishment are given and are available on records; van den Borren's judgment however remains just and comprehensive. Nevertheless it is difficult to accord Bull fair criticism as a composer, and there are several good reasons for this. A virtuoso performer is more concerned with the present than with three centuries of preservation; Bull was by all accounts a superlative executant and his compositions demand strong and brilliant interpretations. Virtuosity carries with it a considerable popular element, and the music of the virginalists, which needs a conscious adjustment of approach from present-day hearers, is naturally at an initial disadvantage in this respect (already the popularity of pianists subsisting on Chopin and Liszt is declining, and the situation two hundred years hence is beyond prediction). It is also difficult to trace Bull's development as a composer; dating most of his works is impossible, and so many technical styles are demonstrated in them that conclusions are not likely to be of much value. It is hard to establish sympathy—even musically—with his character.

This first volume of the collected keyboard works includes all Bull's known organ music. With the exception of hymn settings, 'Salve Regina' and 'Laet ons met herten reijne' (which has organ registrations in the score), it is not possible to state whether any piece is written specifically for the organ, and the simple distinction of treating sacred titles as organ music and secular songs as harpsichord music is inadequate in both directions. This classification is valid for Sweelinck, who made a more rigorous distinction in style between organ and harpsichord music—'Mein junges Leben hat ein End' variations are not organ music, although there is a choice of instrument for the fantasias, but will not do for Italian music such as Frescobaldi's canzona 'La Scacchi' which is for organ, nor for many of the English plainsong fantasias which, as van den Borren points out, are on a scale that excludes them from divine service and possess figuration suited more to the harpsichord. Figuration such as rapidly repeated chords (e.g. in No. 7) is somewhat unsuited to the organ,

but repetition of single notes is by no means so, as Sweelinck's wild final variation on 'Erbarm' dich mein, o Herre Gott' shows. The most that can be said is that the harpsichord is not a church instrument; secular music however could perfectly well be played on the organ in the home.

The text is a 'conflate' of available sources; this is clearly the best expedient, as the original copyists had no obligation to be assiduously scrupulous, and the result is certainly an excellent practical edition. When we see Bull as a composer set apart from his contemporaries in the great collections of keyboard music, his complete command of every technique—derivative and progressive—is astonishing. Yet it is agonizing that his own musical personality remains elusive, and repeatedly the impression made is momentarily that of another composer. A few examples of this will suffice; in the Prelude of No. 2, bar 9 is a stock-in-trade of Byrd and even Tomkins, melodically and in the chromatic formula; the fugal opening to 'La Guamina' fantasia (No. 3) could well pass for Sweelinck, particularly the cadence and continuation at bars 7-9; the delightful chromatic fantasia (No. 5) has tremendous affinity with Frescobaldi—bar 19 is almost identical with part of one of his canzonas; there are numerous points of similarity to sixteenth-century Italian toccata composers, such as Merulo, in the contrast and alternation of fast running passages and more austere imitative sections in the fantasias. These comparisons are relevant, although tantalizing. Italian music was certainly introduced to England towards the end of the sixteenth century; Sweelinck himself studied in Italy, and Bull lived from 1613 to 1628 in Belgium and is almost sure to have been a friend of Sweelinck. The technique of melodic variation through improvisatory embellishment of the thematic framework is the same in Bull's 'Laet ons met herten reijne' and 'Een Kindeken is ons geboren' as in Sweelinck's variations, and the figuration of 'In Nomine (X)' (No. 29), bars 20-27, is similar in style to some of Sweelinck's toccata passages. The plainsong hymn-settings present an obscure character, technically indebted to Blitheman and Tallis; the editors ask if 'Salvator mundi (III)' (No. 39) is perhaps by Tallis, although the harmonic 'bloom' at the end sounds more like Gibbons—so maybe it is by Bull. The other Tallis-style plainsongs are not very effective, and such settings as 'Vexilla regis, v.4' (No. 44) almost dispense with genuine polyphony after the opening point.

There are many aspects of Bull's vocabulary and technique which will repay attention. Of these harmony is conspicuous at times: the fantasia on 'Sol, ut, ♯, mi, fa, sol, la' (No. 2) and 'Fantasia in the 5th Mode' (No. 6) finish with a trill on the augmented fourth over the bass leading to the final chord; the chromatic 'Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la' (No. 17) has the ground setting off from each of the twelve semitones, thereby involving equal temperament tuning or something near it; in 'Fantasia on a theme by Sweelinck' (No. 4) the dominant seventh is used as a structural harmony (bar 35); chromaticism at the beginning of 'Fantasia' (No. 5) occurs polyphonically at such a speed as to result in a basic change of harmony each half-unit (bars 7-9). Ornamentation is another important feature; sufficient indication as to performance is given in the introduction. Very frequently the sign represented by a double oblique stroke is most conveniently played as a mordent (as in No. 37, bars 72 foll., and No. 23,

bar 60, final ornament) with possibly several repetitions, but there is no obligation to play a particular ornament the same way every time; once the style is absorbed, ornamentation is the performer's licence for obtaining improvisatory embellishment and ensuring spontaneity. Many ornaments are written out in the musical text of the sources and there are several ways of performing even the routine trills (examples of some variety are: No. 8, bar 54; No. 13, bar 125; No. 14, bars 112 and 146).

There is some contemporary fingering which will help in judging speed and as a guide to rhythm. In No. 11 there is some difficult slipping of fingers, and in No. 24 note repetitions involving changes of fingering. Bull is not considerate to small hands, and it is necessary to stretch a tenth on numerous occasions—unless pull-down pedals on the organ are available. The pedals could well be employed in this manner to ease the problems of 'In Nomine (I)' (No. 20), and pedalling the cantus is perfectly authentic north European practice. A three-keyboard organ is presupposed for 'Laet ons met herten reijne', but even so it is difficult to sort out the original registration. Where the Cornet starts, both hands may play on the same keyboard because the left hand stays below middle D, which is the lower limit of the stop. However the later direction 'Cornet alleen' is hard to understand as the part is below its compass throughout; the important thing is not to disrupt the left-hand part before the final line on a full chorus.

The editorial method has proved extremely successful in presenting a reliable text, with a table of variants in important sources at the end of the volume. Accidentals in the sources normally apply to one note only; in this edition they conform to modern practice in applying to the complete bar—the editors' procedure is immediately comprehensible. In No. 40, v. 4, bar 12, the minim D[♯] in the second half of the bar is missing. Bar 119 of No. 52 should have G[♯] and not A immediately before the left-hand trill. The 'set figural pattern' in No. 27 is printed incorrectly in bar 52 and probably also in bar 53. Some valuable material about instruments, drawn largely from the work of Dr. M. A. Vente, is given in the introduction, although I do not like to see the names of Flemish organ stops in English. Thurston Dart has produced a calendar of Bull's life which must be the most informative biographical document yet available on this cryptic and dazzling subject.

J. D.

Handel, G. F. *Complete Works*. Ser. IV, Vol. II: *6 Concerti Grossi*, Op. 3, ed. by Frederick Hudson. (Bärenreiter, Cassel & Basel; Novello, London, 1959, 33s.)

Hellendaal, Pieter. *6 Concerti Grossi*, Op. 3, ed. by Hans Brandts Buys. 'Monumenta Musica Neerlandica', Vol. I. (Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, Amsterdam, 1959, f.20.00.)

It is cheering to note that the 'Hallische Händel-Ausgabe', after stirring up acrimonious critical dispute by its inadequate principles of scholarship, has set its house in order. And it is appropriate that Dr. Hudson (who helped to bring about the reform) should edit the first volume in which the investigation of all primary sources has been considered obligatory and worthy of full documentation in a separate critical

report. This has yet to appear, but the preface to the score gives a summary of the processes by which the editor has established the chronology of the seven manuscripts and twenty-nine early prints extant; we must wait for his report to know how much this arduous collation has affected the readings he presents here. In a few cases readings have been determined by secondary sources—the numerous movements (over half) in Op. 3 which originated in other works by Handel. This authoritative text is offered with the minimum of editorial intrusion, and continuo realizations are published separately. However, Dr. Hudson believes that he has proved that both *ripieno* and *concertino* groups had their own keyboard support (i.e., in the antiphonal concertos I and II, and in VI with organ solo), and so includes indications as to which harpsichord should play at any point. Unfortunately this generally admirable scheme tends to become a little arbitrary in movements like I/2 and II/4 (not III/4, as in the preface), when wind and string solo groups play antiphonally. The insistence that *ripieno* oboe lines must be doubled is salutary, but the preface's implication cannot be intended, that both players should execute the *fioritura* in I/2, bars 22-31, simply because 'solo' does not appear "in the course of the movement" until later; surely the *f* signs regulate the second player's participation? Without the critical report it is not certain how much faith the editor places in the extra concerto discovered in the National Library of Scotland by Dr. Hans Redlich. He prints it in an appendix but draws attention to the pertinent evidence of its other issue by Walsh as an anonymous work. It is a run-of-the-mill piece which adds little lustre to Op. 3, but is rightly included while no contradictory authorship can be established.

Though an English scholar has edited this volume, the Germans have long sought to bolster their claim on Handel by editions of his work. Now the first volume in the series 'Monumenta Musica Neerlandica' has reclaimed for Holland another concertist who spent his mature years here. Hellendaal, a pupil of Tartini, came to London in 1752 and died at Cambridge in 1799; his Op. III Grand Concertos appeared in 1758 (Walsh). The inescapable Handel influence, especially of Op. 6, is easy enough to find but far less interesting than the many signs of a strikingly original talent. Hellendaal's five-movement plan is constant (slow-fast-slow-fast-character piece) but his procedures are otherwise unpredictable. The move to and from the central movement's related key (subdominant in three concertos, relative minor in two) is made the opportunity for some unusual affective modulations: in the fifth concerto an Adagio transforms the shape of the preceding fugal Allegro into a doleful procession through keys so flat that the eventual subdominant sounds a relaxation. These flat swerves (nearly always urbanely recovered by treating the most distant key's relative minor as a major after all), combined with Hellendaal's outdoing of Handel in cadence-postponement, produce a feeling of vertigo at times, yet are never out of control. The style ranges beyond Handel: among the echoes and pre-echoes are Rameau and Gluck (V/5 [*pastorale*] and 3), early Haydn (the sturdy two-part minuet in VI/5) and even a sinuous Mozartian chromaticism (II/4 and III/3). The final marches of III and V and the 'Borea' of II have a delicacy of wit that seems rococo even while using Baroque symbols. Elsewhere the contrapuntal workman-

ship is adroit and the string writing enterprising, especially for the viola (included in the *concertino*).

The preface is in that idiosyncratic English which is becoming a familiar feature of foreign editions, but it demonstrates Brandts Buys's scrupulous scholarship. Though a single bass stave is used almost throughout, it is always possible to distinguish between *concertino* and *ripieno* functions and between the figurings in the two original part-books. On the other hand, only one realization is offered, and the antiphony is therefore blurred that should result from the organ's silence (and the harpsichord's continuing) in *concertino* sections. This realization rarely (but sometimes effectively) exceeds a minimum of detail; it is occasionally too high for comfortable assimilation. It would surely have been simpler to preserve the original tenor clef passages than to provide detailed but not very revealing documentation of their location. Additional ornaments are recommended but, wisely, none are petrified into editorial notation; original note values, sometimes halved in the parts, are retained in the score. When we recover from indiscriminate adulation of Vivaldi good and bad, we may well reinstate the English School (for such we may count them, whatever their birth) by discovering Hellendaal's Op. 3.

P. A. E.

CELLO AND ORCHESTRA

Cirri, Giovanni Battista, *Concerto*, A major, Op. 14, no. 1, ed. by Giorgio Federico Ghedini. Score. (Ricordi, Milan, 1959, 12s. 6d.)

This concerto appears in Ricordi's series 'Antica musica strumentale italiana' under the supervision of Renato Fasano. His preface to the series claims that works selected will combine historical and æsthetic interest and will be published in conformity with autographs or original editions. He stresses that harpsichord realizations will be as faithful as possible to the Italian traditions of the continuo, "quale indispensabile appoggio armonico nelle parti solistiche e importante coefficiente timbrico e di 'quantità' sonora nei *tutti*". It is unfortunate that Ghedini appears not to have digested this admirable resolution or to have decided that it need not apply to music that postdates the *concerto grosso* style. Despite the layout of the original edition (London, c. 1780) "in four parts for the Violoncello obbligato with two Violins and Bass" (figured), the concerto is presented here without continuo and with an editorial viola part. Since much of the 'historical interest' of this protracted transitional style lies in such a typical instrumental disposition, the result of Ghedini's labours is confusing. For the most part it is also ineffective, since the viola must fluctuate between embarrassed fumbblings to find useful notes in a string texture already both adequate and shapely, and puny attempts to fill the continuo's hole when the violins drop out; a vital source of tonal contrast is inevitably lost. On the first page a solitary *f* sign is bracketed, but it would be rash to infer that all other markings were original. No distinguishing conventions are used and, however ready with other suggestions, the editor does not mark the points at which cadenzas would undoubtedly have been interpolated. As to 'æsthetic interest', the music seems engagingly unaware of its hovering on the brink of cliché, and cellists should find it a rewarding change from Boccherini.

P. A. E.

CHAMBER MUSIC

Kraus, Joseph, *Trio*, D major, for violin, cello and piano, ed. by Walter Lebermann. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1959, 16s.)

This trio is dated 1787. The first movement is rococo routine. Expectedness is all, except in the development, where no one could have expected the composer to have written so many sequences. The second movement consists of serenade-like variations of great innocence. It is the last movement, entitled 'Ghiribizzo', which is clearly the reason for publication. It is a rondo whose main theme has Schumannesque dotted rhythms. Whimsical ideas are taken up and as abruptly dropped, and there are numerous sudden silences. The usual nimbleness is required from the pianist, but not much from the strings, the cello part being hardly independent at all. I. K.

Ricciotti, Carlo, *Concertini* for four violins, viola, cello and continuo. I: G major; III: A major. (Bärenreiter, Cassel & Basel; Novello, London, 1959, 13s. 6d. each.)

These two scores complete the 'Hortus Musicus' issue of six 'Concerti armonici' published at The Hague in 1740. When Walsh produced an English edition fifteen years later, he saw no reason to doubt that the only name attached to the original print, Carlo Ricciotti, was that of its composer. Ricciotti's dedication seems wilfully mystifying, but no other meaning was read into it until a still more mystifying 'ancient manuscript' was said to ascribe the works to Pergolesi. On the strength of transcripts from this regrettably elusive document the six concertos were included in the enthusiastically comprehensive Pergolesi collected edition. The fragility of the evidence supporting this action was revealed by C. L. Cudworth in *Music & Letters* (October 1949), but the attribution has perhaps helped to give the works their surprising prominence in the gramophone catalogues. Hinnenthal, the editor of these Bärenreiter scores, compromises with the nice style 'Ricciotti (Pergolesi?)'; he seems to share the current distrust of internal musical evidence.

Cudworth had fewer qualms, contrasting the late Baroque style of the pieces with "the incipient rococo of Pergolesi's known works". Without fresh evidence this opinion would seem to be the last word, yet we may cavil at accepting it out of hand. The vast majority of these known works are vocal, and it is just conceivable that Pergolesi might have renounced his ubiquitous Neapolitan *buffo* idiom for the grand manner of the Baroque concertists in essaying their form once in his twenty-six years. Elaborate though this hypothesis may be, it is scarcely more so than that which sees in Ricciotti a composer who only once in his seventy-five years achieved the fluent command of fresh ideas that justified his publishing these concertos. It is this wealth of ideas—melodic, textural and structural—which marks out the works, rather than any great distinction in their craftsmanship. Consecutives abound, and six-part work is usually a clumsy adaptation of an essentially four-part texture, except where the first two violin parts play a distinctive *concertino* role. In this they may be joined

by the cello, so that Corelli's classical lay-out is approached more often than Vivaldi's familiar Op. 3, no. 10 plan. Vivaldi's influence is clear in ritornello usage and in the wonderfully flexible ground treatment in the Grave of No. 1, but the alternation and eventual collaboration of solo cello and the two violins over a full accompaniment produces a richness hard to parallel.

In No. 3 (which includes a tedious elaboration of the 'Non nobis Domine' tag used by Byrd) solo and tutti indications suggest that the composer intended massed strings, which would emphasize still more the *concertino* functions, but the editor gives no suggestions as to the manner of performance. He offers a clean text, with a few dynamic suggestions, and no elucidations of the varying contexts in which the same general-purposes trill sign is used. There seems little point in his supplementary figuring, particularly as it is sometimes debatable, but his continuo realizations make a respectable starting-point.

P. A. E.

CHORAL MUSIC

Kodály, Zoltán, *Battle Song*, for double chorus (S.A.T.B.).

Psalm 114, for S.A.T.B. and organ.

Psalm 121, for S.A.T.B.

To the Transylvanians, for S.A.T.B.

(Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1958-59.)

White, Robert, *Lamentations* (Parts I & II), for S.A.T.T.B., ed. by J. A. Pilgrim. (Stainer & Bell, London, 1959, 4s.)

The 'Battle Song' may well sound effective when sung in its original language; but it would be difficult to avoid making it sound like a parody of a Victorian patriotic song in this English translation. The opening couplet:

Blow now the bugle, beat the drum,
Ready for battle, man and drum,

is followed by whistling bullets and swords and the like military paraphernalia of the mid-nineteenth century. The music does not rise much above the level of the poetry. 'To the Transylvanians' is similar in sentiment to the 'Battle Song'. The text, also by Petöfi (1848), contains the words "We are friendless in the great sea of people, Everyone we turn to is an enemy"; it is interesting that this was composed for the Magyar Kórus of Budapest in 1943. The harmonic idiom is conservative and would serve as an exercise in those favourites of the writers of harmony textbooks, the dominant discords. The English translation of Psalm 114 (presumably the original was in Hungarian) does not fit the music sensibly. The word-painting is overdone and naïve: the obvious things happen in the organ part when the mountains skip and when the earth trembles. It makes one realize what a good job Samuel Wesley made of this text. Psalm 121 is an unaccompanied setting, mainly in imitative counterpoint of a quasi-sixteenth-century type: a very tedious piece, and certainly no better than Ouseley's similar efforts.

Robert White's 'Lamentations' is a fine setting of a text which has also fired the imagination of other composers. In this edition it covers

39 pages, but there is no question of dullness anywhere: the long passages of virile imitative counterpoint are separated by homophonic sections and there is splendid vitality in the melodic lines. The frequent cross-relations and the decoration of the suspensions leave no doubt as to the country of origin. The final refrain of 'Jerusalem' is glorious music. Clear and straightforward as the edition is, the suggestions for dynamics and changes of speed will merely act as a guide to those who do not have their own ideas about such things, for there are several directions with which some will not agree. It is a most welcome addition to the printing of music of this period, which appears to diminish as time goes on. B. W. G. R.

Britten, Benjamin, *Missa brevis*, D major, for boys' voices and organ. Organ score. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1959, 12s. 6d.)

Brumel, Antoine, *Missa pro defunctis*, ed. by Albert Seay. 'Das Chorwerk', No. 68. (Möseler, Wolfenbüttel; Novello, London, 1959, 10s.)

Castellnuovo-Tedesco, Mario, *The Fiery Furnace*. Cantata for baritone solo, children's chorus, organ and percussion. Vocal score. (Ricordi, New York, 11s.)

Clemens non Papa, Jacobus, *Drei Motetten*, ed. by Bernhard Meier. 'Das Chorwerk', No. 72. (Möseler, Wolfenbüttel; Novello, London, 1959, 9s. 6d.)

Dyson, George, *A Christmas Garland*. Cantata for mezzo-soprano solo, chorus (S.S.A.) with piano and/or strings. Vocal score. (Novello, London, 1959, 4s. 6d.)

Handel, G. F., *Te Deum laudamus*, D major, for soli, chorus and orchestra, ed. by Rudolf Elvers & Gottfried Grote. Score. (Merseburger, Berlin, 1959, DM.12.00.)

The Kyrie and Gloria of Britten's 'Missa brevis' form a pair, in that they are based thematically on the plainsong intonation to the Gloria. The interval of the fourth is the crux of the matter, and this feature is carried forward to the Sanctus and Benedictus. The Agnus Dei appears to be outside this influence, and instead the short conjunct vocal phases of the first half of the movement follow a sequential pattern above a five-note *pes* in the pedals—a disjunct motif of the rising thirds D F A C E \flat . The voice parts of the second half of the movement ('dona nobis pacem') add point to the pedal motif by starting on an E \flat and rising by step to a climax on top F, completing the span of the ninth. The work is undoubtedly a little masterpiece in which there are many magical sounds. It is inscribed to George Malcolm and the boys of Westminster Cathedral: Continental voice production is really an essential requirement for the full effectiveness of this music.

Being a Requiem Mass, Brumel's 'Missa pro defunctis' contains only the Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus from the Ordinary. The other movements are Introitus, Sequentia and Communio. Except for one section in the Sequentia the four voices sing throughout, and although the *cantus firmus* is never presented in equal notes, its presence migrates from the tenor to the highest part in the different movements. The writing is both homophonic and imitative, though the latter is of a primitive and tentative kind. As usual in 'Das Chorwerk', this edition is hopelessly unpractical.

It has bar-lines between staves, original notation and original pitch (it could not be sung less than a minor third higher for S.A.T.B.). It is an ironic fact that 'Musica Britannica' is printed in a good practical form but in quarto, whereas 'Das Chorwerk' is printed in octavo, ideal for practical use but in an unpractical form. It is no wonder that the keen young choral director (or cathedral organist) very soon becomes frustrated and reverts to the normal round.

'The Fiery Furnace' is a setting of chapter 3 of the Book of Daniel. Considerable demands are made upon the baritone soloist, but the chorus parts are very simple. There are some colourful moments, but harmonically the work is embarrassingly prosaic. The motets by Clemens show what an important composer he was. He has an assured command of the technique of imitation and is sensitive to the meaning of the text—'Vox in Rama' is particularly impressive. The altus part is in the transposed treble G clef throughout but lies well for alto (or contralto); this seems a curious clef to use. Apart from pitch and note-values, both of which are satisfactory, the same criticisms apply to this edition as to the Brumel. The underlay of the text must be viewed at least with suspicion in many places, although one cannot say more than that without seeing the original source. 'A Christmas Garland' will no doubt fulfil a need as there is surprisingly little Christmas music available apart from carols. Schools will welcome this as well as women's choirs.

Handel's Queen Caroline 'Te Deum' (1737) is finely produced with English and German text. The edition is partially satisfactory in that it is so *Urtext* that the editors have not used their imagination. When a passage is repeated identically (the ritornello at the beginning and end of 'Vouchsafe, O Lord'), surely Handel would have wished the ornaments and bowing to be at least the same as in the first instance? The same applies to sequential passages (the opening of 'When thou tookest'). No attempt has been made to add trills in places where they must have been used, as in the passage just quoted. As well as strings and organ the score includes two trumpets, oboes and a flute.

B. W. G. R.

CLARINET AND PIANO

North, Roger, *Sonata*, G minor. (Chester, London, 1959, 12s.)

Rochberg, George, *Dialogues*. (Theodore Presser Co., Bryn Mawr, Penn.; Universal Edition, London, 1959, 20s.)

In contrasted ways both these works are rather unconvincingly eclectic. North's is modernistically old-fashioned and Rochberg's is middle-brow *avant-garde*, a kind of poor man's Webern. In the sonata the composer seems merely to have distorted some conventional ideas, of a quite commonplace kind, into unnatural melodic, harmonic and rhythmic progressions that have neither rhyme nor reason. The last movement is in a strained kind of 'Bulgarian' rhythm, mainly 13/8, with short episodes in 14/8 and 15/8. It appears to be a very immature work. Rochberg's *Dialogues* make better sound and more sense, though they are monotonous. They are spidery in texture, and at the same time plummy in harmony. All four pieces are almost exclusively concerned with the interval of the major seventh, the interest of which, as it is treated here, is quickly exhausted.

C. M.

Wordsworth, William, *Prelude & Scherzo*, Op. 52. (Lengnick, London, 1959, 6s.)

This is a not very successful example of a difficult kind of work. Both its harmonic range and its 'cyclic' form suggest higher pretensions than are usual in short pieces for wind instruments, but the idiom is strained, the material not attractive, and the point of the formal and thematic argument elusive. In works of this size Wordsworth is more convincing when less sophisticated. C. M.

FLUTE AND ORCHESTRA

Benker, Heinz, *Rondo scherzando* for flute and strings. 'Collegium Musicae Novae', No. 40. Score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1959, 9s.)

As Hindemith was the pioneer of amateurs' music in this century, it is not surprising that his shadow looms so solidly over many of the works in the 'Collegium Musicae Novae' series. This may not be quite what writers had in mind who recently proposed a revitalizing of our own musical training through the commission of educational pieces from prominent composers, but Breitkopf's enterprise offers some useful guidance. A style more or less Hindemithian in its regulation of tonal direction and in its essentially simple metre is an excellent starting point for most exploring amateurs, and it need not be (though too often is) stereotyped in melodic and harmonic detail. If Benker's perky Rondo lacks the exhilarating drive of the best Hindemith, such as the double canon in Op. 44, no. 4, its technical demands are even more modest; yet they similarly develop the musical intelligence—a faculty too often fatally neglected during apprenticeship years. P. A. E.

FLUTE AND PIANO

Urbanner, Erich, *Acht Stücke*. (Universal Edition, Vienna, 1959, 10s.)

These are euphonious, cautiously post-Webernish pieces, not with a great deal of vitality or character but sensitively and fluently put together by a composer who evidently still cares for old-fashioned harmony. The fourth piece is for flute alone, the sixth for piano alone, and the two are put together to make the eighth piece. The total duration is given as 3½ minutes, but 8½ would be more like it. C. M.

HARPSICHORD SOLO

Edmunds, Christopher, *Suite*, G major. (Hinrichsen, London, 1960, 5s. 6d.)

Writing in classical forms is an extremely difficult business in present-day music; and, while new compositions for old instruments are welcome, forms such as the Baroque dance suite are precarious as a starting point. The best that can be said of the present work is that its texture is well suited to the harpsichord—the musical ideas are slight and the harmonic style a dreary succession of simple chromaticisms. The movements are:

Allemande; Courante—with appropriate rhythmic changes in the penultimate bar of each half; Sarabande—G minor, in which the opening eight bars return at the end with a full close; Gigue—with some well-contrived sonorities, but none at all of Ravel's bite, which a piece written in this manner needs for acceptance. The volume is embellished with a facsimile of the title page of Lübeck's 'Clavier Uebung' (1728) and a photograph of 'Handel's harpsichord' (built by Ruckers in 1657).

J. D.

Le Roux, Gaspard, *Pieces for Harpsichord*, ed. by Albert Fuller. (Alpege Editions, New York, 1959, \$10.00.)

Eight or nine years ago Susi Jeans first introduced me to the charming music of Gaspard le Roux by way of his seven pieces for two harpsichords. These, together with seven suites for harpsichord solo, comprise his complete keyboard works, here re-edited in a very scholarly fashion by a young and enthusiastic American harpsichordist. The review copy was accompanied by an LP disc of Mr. Fuller's own interpretations of the suites, though this is not included in the purchase price.

Very little is known about the composer; most of what we do know is due to the research of the late André Tessier. Born in Paris about 1660, le Roux seems to have spent his whole life there. His only publication was his book of keyboard music (1705, pirated by Estienne Roger of Amsterdam within a year of its first appearance in Paris), and by June 1707 he was dead. In style his music belongs to the seventeenth century. It most resembles d'Anglebert; indeed le Roux may well have been his pupil, for the two composers use exactly the same signs and names for ornaments. There is also a rather close kinship with French lute-music: note le Roux's adoption of the lutenists' term 'contre-partie', the fanciful titles he gives to some of his pieces—a device used by Chambonnières, though not by d'Anglebert—and his use of the unusual key of F# minor, associated with the so-called 'ton de la chèvre' tuning of the lute, particularly favoured by the younger Gaultier.

The 1705 edition has certain unusual features. For instance, there is no dedication, and on the title-page the composer's name is not followed by the customary statement of his present employment. Moreover, each keyboard piece is also printed in an arrangement for two melody instruments and figured bass (in deciding to exclude these, Mr. Fuller is following a precedent set by Estienne Roger). These features seem to me to confirm Tessier's impression that le Roux was a professional music-master, who had a rather hard time trying to make his way without the protection of a patron or the security of a salaried position. His music has individual turns of melody and harmony that lift it above the conventional level of men like Dieupart or Loeillet; Mr. Fuller's affection for it is very understandable.

The book is admirably laid out and beautifully printed (though why no title on the spine?). Dedicated to Ralph Kirkpatrick, it includes a substantial—some might say over-elaborate—introduction, with bibliographical and critical notes, facsimiles and translations. English musicians will find the price rather high. Three tiny corrections are perhaps worth

noting: Estienne Roger published Dieupart's suites, not his overtures; Roger's first catalogue was issued in 1696, not 1715; and the Amsterdam edition of le Roux's suites was first advertised in Roger's catalogue of 1706, so that its date is not in doubt. T. D.

ORCHESTRA

Bach, Johann Christian, *Symphony*, G minor, Op. 6, no. 6. *Symphony*, B♭ major, Op. 21, no. 1. Ed. by Fritz Stein. Scores. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1959-60, 20s. each.)

These two symphonies have already appeared with three more in 'Das Erbe deutscher Musik', vol. 30 (also edited by Stein) and are now issued in performing editions. This merely means that a few bowing and phrasing marks have been added to the same plates, but the sale of separate scores together with parts should now make the works more easily available to orchestras. The Op. 6 G minor symphony is at least the equal of the early symphonies in that key by Haydn and Mozart (K.183 gains too much prestige from the wisdom-after-the-event that is K.550) and a demonstration of *Sturm und Drang* the more convincing for its upsurge in a composer usually dedicated to a cooler pathos or a statutory geniality; these qualities are neatly displayed in the B♭ symphony from Op. 21.

P. A. E.

Copland, Aaron, *Orchestral Variations*.

The Tender Land. Suite from the opera.

Miniature scores. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960, 12s. 6d. & 15s.)

David, Johann Nepomuk, *Sinfonia* for strings. Miniature score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1960, 12s.)

Koch, Erland von, *Dalecarlia-Suite* for flute, clarinet and strings. Score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1959, 24s.)

Voss, Friedrich, *Phantasie* for string orchestra. *Symphony* No. 1. Miniature scores. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1959-60, 6s. & 12s.)

Zbinden, Julien-François, *Symphony* No. 2. Miniature score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1958, 17s.)

The two Copland scores neatly sum up the composer's range. His opera views American country life with the simple yet not bland optimism familiar from the folk ballets, but on a slower time scale; this means that the orchestral suite, selecting only three incidents and robbing them of the original justification for their extension (i.e., in successive vocal entries), has not the variety and cogency of the ballet scores. These qualities are cultivated with remarkable resource in the 'Orchestral Variations', a reworking of Copland's early *tour de force*, the 1931 'Piano Variations'. A handful of notes, with liberal use of melodic octave-transposition and with progressive orthodox transposition, is made the audible basis of a cumulative structure. In returning after a quarter of a century to this work,

Copland has been able to transform it into orchestral textures that not only recall both the lean angularities of his 1933 'Short Symphony' and the more lyrical sonorities of his middle period (e.g. third symphony), but also reach out towards a new *pointillisme* that is in keeping with his recent investigations into some serialist procedures.

The suite by Koch is a collection of Swedish folk dances decked out in harmony whose furthest ventures from Grieg's clichés are to those of Bartók's popular Roumanian settings; the wind instruments rarely play a distinctive role and a third violin part may be substituted for the viola.

It would be difficult to find exact English equivalents for German composers like Johann Nepomuk David. What we call 'academic' work is nowadays most likely to be in a pale pastoral idiom apparently innocent of learned device; a changed concept of 'good taste' confines contrapuntal feats *per se* (other than those in serial technique) to the examination room. We are unwilling to recognize therefore that orthodox contrapuntal skill may sometimes reach such mastery as to become compelling in spite of a basic lack of newly imagined ideas. David's 'Sinfonia' provides an excellent example: the second of its two movements draws the material for an extensive double string orchestra texture from a greyish theme and a subsidiary (both Hindemithian in their diatonized use of all twelve notes) with so much inventiveness as almost to exclude underived lines. It becomes obvious in retrospect, when inverted and retrograde forms are familiar sounds, how much the opening neo-baroque Allegro was organized by the same theme. Though some of the string effects here seem rather self-consciously 'applied', the work should swell the repertory of a group that performs Bartók's 'Music for Strings' or Tippett's double concerto. The 'Phantasie' by Friedrich Voss, though it approaches the serialist's avoidance of tonally committed lines and uses twelve-note climax chords, has far less respect for the integrity of a basically linear conception than David's work: its harmonic unity seems obsessive rather than constructive and its literal repetitions are at variance with the essentially exploratory form. Voss's first symphony, completed three years later, in 1959, in making similar mechanical use of literal restatements restricts them to more obviously definitive material, but a sequence of alarming crudity ensures that the first movement's peroration theme returns at a higher pitch. The derivations from the opening shape are aurally convincing in three short movements, and the scoring is lucid, though over-confident in angular pizzicato as a textural stopgap.

The second symphony by Zbinden seems inflated after this terseness, but it is a reminder that music of extreme competence is still being written on the Continent by composers who hold the sort of mid-way position we tend now to regard as an English preserve. Frank borrowings of Stravinsky's twitching immobility appear side by side with classical forward-reaching mechanisms, banalities reminiscent of *les Six* are assimilated into tauter forms than we associate with those composers; perhaps Mr. Zbinden is a graduate of the Boulanger academy. Certainly he is never at a loss for the next move in the first three movements: an athletic Allegro incorporates without fuss the introductory motto theme, a dirge in memory of Honegger organizes powerfully every detail of its ternary structure, even though its harmonic acerbities have a faded sound,

and the scherzo (neatly borrowing first movement material for its transitions) gains by the telescoping of its two themes on restatement. Only the finale seems miscalculated—a bizarre march which cocks so many snooks that its quotation from the dirge sounds like an irreverence to Honegger. But he would perhaps have found it the best movement of all, and the sham triumph that emerges from the religious glow in which the motto is last heard might almost be his own work.

P. A. E.

ORGAN

Thiman, Eric H. *Twelve pieces, new and old*, composed, edited and arranged. (Curwen, London, 1959, 7s.)

These 'Twelve Pieces' are headed 'The Organist's Dozen', which of course is true enough in one sense, but not in the sense that the organist will necessarily play them all. Anyone who would be prepared to play them all with conviction would indeed have a catholic taste rare in an artist. However, there are some useful pieces, including two movements by Stanley and one by Greene.

B. W. G. R.

Eldridge, Guy H., *Four Impressions*. (Novello, London, 1959.)

Hutchings, Charles, *Ostinato, Elegy & Paean*. (Novello, London, 1959.)

Rowley, Alec, *Symphony No. 2*, F major. (Novello, London, 1959, 5s. 6d.)

Willan, Healey, *A Fugal Trilogy*. (Oxford University Press, 1959, 6s.)

This collection of organ music is about as depressing as anything supposedly new from reputable publishers could be. It is difficult to understand how this sort of thing can be seriously composed, let alone brought into print; it is harmless enough, but none of the pieces in these volumes possesses either the slightest originality or any popular qualities which might make publication profitable. Eldridge's pieces are written with fluency and grace; they are all concise in form, and registered in an apt and suitable manner. Percy Whitlock is the most immediately recognizable influence, but writing in this diluted atmospheric style does not make good organ music. The three pieces by Hutchings have the visual appearance of English organ music of the beginning of the century, although aurally they are a good deal more acid. From works like this it appears that organ composers know nothing of musical developments of the present day; the work is well constructed formally on ideas that are stale and banal, harmonically Mahler and Debussy are yet to be born, while rhythmic interest is negligible.

The tale of woe reaches a ludicrous stage in Alec Rowley's second symphony, as this surely cannot be taken seriously. Rowley has the formal idea of using a different theme or motive for each main section of the opening movement; this could be all right, but the result is, first, a string of unrelated chords on the tuba, then a jaunty 'first subject', followed by a more 'expressive' melody accompanied by triplet chords. All these reappear at various stages, and the movement boils down to a succession of ninth harmonies with vamping triplet rhythmical accompaniment. The second movement, Chaconne, is successively Prelude, Sarabande, Elegy (all in 3/4) and March (in 4/4). The ostinato is ten beats long, causing slight rhythmical variety on repetition; any possibilities are nullified by the

poverty of the invention. The work is completed by a blatant 5/4 Finale. It is a great relief to turn to Healey Willan's latest work, in which orthodox fugue procedure is used in a thoroughly agreeable way. This style of composition had just about run its course by 1750, as Handel implies and Mozart abundantly shows; but Willan has sympathy with both form and instrument and has appropriately prefaced his fugues with short formal introductions: respectively Chorale, Aria and Elegy. J. D.

PIANO AND ORCHESTRA

Baur, Jürg, *Konzertante Musik*. Miniature score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1960, 18s.)

Gerhard, Fritz Chr., *Rhapsodisches Konzert* for piano and strings. 'Collegium Musicae Novae', No. 42. Score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden; British & Continental Music Agencies, London, 1960, 18s.)

In the late 'twenties *konzertante Musik* would mean one of those busy re-creations of late baroque pulse (if not of its thrust) that work out an exemplary scheme to end with proud punctuality. Baur's work begins with an Improvisation and ends with a Rhapsody, while Gerhard's much slighter piece is labelled 'rhapsodic'; times have changed, and dalliance is in favour again. But the great masters of fantasy have almost always been creative thinkers in the more symmetrical structures, and our jobbing composers were less likely to reveal their uncertainty of aim while they merely followed neo-baroque blueprints. In Gerhard's concerto the search for a texture that will allow both solo and string ideas to expand is successful only in the slow movement; elsewhere every page sees restive changes of manner that can only be discouraging to the amateurs for whom the music is intended. Baur too seems to waver, if we are to judge by his last-minute deletion of more than twenty bars; his two rhapsodic movements too often remind us that grandiloquence can only temporarily conceal the lack of any pressing need for speech. Although his score includes all the vogue noises (vibraphone, bongo, tomtom), he soon abandons the opening carefully-atonal chord structures, and his best moments are those, especially in the scherzo, when, by using familiar melodic and harmonic units (scarcely more advanced than, say, Rawsthorne), he is able to focus his attention on shaping the larger paragraph. P. A. E.

Rubbra, Edmund, *Concerto*, G major. Miniature score. (Lengnick, London, 1959, 10s.)

This work is dedicated to Ali Akbar Khan, whose playing had some influence on it. The tone is mainly lyrical, serene and meditative, with a greater rhythmic animation and gaiety in the last movement, headed 'Danza alla Rondo'. In the first movement Rubbra has invented a new musical form, in imitation of a botanical one, called 'Corymbus', of which cineraria, according to the Pocket Oxford Dictionary, is an example. Much of the material is attractive, though almost too blandly consonant to make a strong thematic impression. There is also an effect of strain about the rhythmic liveliness of the last movement, as though this did

not come quite spontaneously. Among Rubbra's recent works it is less successful than the sixth and seventh symphonies or the violin concerto, perhaps not so much because of any inferiority in sheer musical quality as because of a certain ineffectiveness as a concerto for piano. Although Rubbra is an able pianist himself his writing for the instrument is nearly always rather austere and reticent. It is treated here as a *concertante* rather than a solo instrument. Even the 'Cadenza retrospettiva' in the last movement, in which the themes of the previous movements are recalled in reverse order, provides no opportunity for solo display of any real brilliance. Elsewhere the writing, although often extremely florid, is not showy, and in the performances that I have heard has been almost too modest in effect.

C. M.

PIANO DUET

Carmichael, John, *Puppet Show*. (Augener, London, 1959, 12s. 6d.)

The six duets comprising John Carmichael's 'Puppet Show' are not so obvious as their easy-going tunes and rhythms suggest. Without being difficult they offer scope for delicate nuances, and the pieces are well characterized.

I. K.

Gal, Hans, *Three Marionettes*, Op. 74. 1. *Pantalone*. 2. *Colombina*. 3. *Arlecchino*. (Augener, London, 1960, 4s. 6d., 4s. 6d. & 5s.)

Hans Gal's duets are playable separately, which is well because the third is technically a good deal more exacting than the others. All of them are ingratiating and are enlivened by touches of harmonic sophistication. They give pleasure domestically and otherwise.

I. K.

PIANO SOLO

Giazotto, Remo, *Au Tombeau de Ravel*. (Ricordi, Milan, 1959, 7s. 6d.)

Hoddinot, Alun, *Sonata*. (Oxford University Press, 1960, 12s. 6d.)

Ridout, Alan, *Dance Bagatelles*. (Augener, London, 3s. 6d.)

Tureck, Rosalyn, *An Introduction to the Performance of Bach*. 3 books. (Oxford University Press, 1960, 7s., 7s. & 9s.)

Giazotto's suite consists of three sizeable pieces, Minuetto e trio, Valzer lento and Toccata, with a gavotte-like introduction which is repeated at the end. The writing for the piano is a fitting homage to Ravel, but the first two movements flatter him with an imitation too close to show much individuality. The Toccata shows more originality and its climax is a good piece of warm-hearted *bravura*. In comparison, Alun Hoddinot's sonata falls astringently on the ear. It is not strong in melodic impulse (or at any rate it seems to set little store by it) but in all other respects it is strong—in taut construction, in instrumental style, and in a renewed belief, in the slower movements at any rate, in the expressive power of harmony. The work was commissioned for the 1959 Cheltenham Festival and was there described by the composer in the briefest of programme notes. One records with some diffidence, therefore, that the

march-like second movement, an alternation of mysterious unison passages with abrupt, syncopated chords, is very largely a palindrome. In the next movement it is a string of emotive harmonies, serial in the sense that it is their unchanging succession which the ear recognizes, which is the 'theme' of the variations which constitute the Adagio, a movement of notable poetry. The final quasi-rondo has an incisive glitter—as of a diamond rather than a ruby.

A strong rhythmic sense and a moderate piano technique will suffice to give one pleasure from Alan Ridout's short and vivacious essays in rhythm. Bartók and others have done this sort of thing, but this set, though it does not sound like it, is easier to play.

Amidst the cries of "Lo here! Lo there!" which resound wherever people think about the performance of Bach the voice of Miss Tureck has won itself the right to be heard. The difficulties of starting from the beginning of the subject are enormous, because large fields come into view immediately—fingering, phrasing, dynamics, touch, pedalling (if any) and the still vaster one of ornamentation. If one tackles them all at once one's pupils are likely to solve the problems by not playing Bach on the piano at all, pleading, if they are clever and dishonest enough, some arguments which Miss Tureck not unnaturally makes hay of. Her decision to grade the volumes makes it necessary to have all three if, for example, one wishes to follow her remarks on ornamentation. To do otherwise would be to accuse her unjustly of over-simplification.

Most of her advice is sound and clear. Her first piece is the *Applicatio* in C in Wilhelm Friedemann's book. Most of the teachers who pay lip-service to Bach's fingering by recognizing the insight it can give into such matters as phrasing nevertheless feel that nineteenth-century fingering techniques have come to stay. Miss Tureck takes the *Applicatio* seriously and, sure enough, the fingering brings a new and lively articulation. But it must not be thought from this one example that she is authoritarian. She stresses on many occasions that "historical information, no matter how well sifted and informative, is still far from showing one how to play Bach . . . Musical performance is art, not musicology". To prepare a text edited so as to show alternative phrasings, alternative renderings of ornaments, alternative dynamics, etc., without grotesquely overloading the page is in itself a considerable achievement. Miss Tureck has done what she can to stop the notion that the 'realizations' have been handed down from Sinai, and the thinking player will find much to help him.

There is, however, a grave defect in the books. They contain a total of fourteen works, of which only four are certainly by Bach. There are strong grounds for attributing one to Carl Philipp Emanuel, and the rest are uncertain (including a few which one would be glad to know were not by Bach). The use of unauthenticated music does not wholly vitiate its teaching value, but it is a pity, to say the least. Of the two ornaments in the treble of the second half of the *Applicatio* one interpretation contains a very doubtful chromaticism and the other is entirely incorrect, being on the wrong note altogether. It is a pity that these two instances come so early, for the integration of the ornaments and the care with which they are adapted to inexpert fingers is one of the strengths of the edition.

I. K.

SOLO SONGS

- Brahms, Johannes, *Four Serious Songs*, orchestrated by Malcolm Sargent. Octavo score. (Oxford University Press, 1959, 12s. 6d.)
- Coprario, John, *Funeral Teares* (1606), *Songs of Mourning* (1613) and *The Masque of Squires* (1614), ed. by Gerald Hendrie & Thurston Dart. 'The English Lute-Songs', 1st ser., no. 17. (Stainer & Bell, London, 1959.)
- Haydn, Joseph, *Son pietosa, son bonina*, for soprano and orchestra, ed. by H. C. Robbins Landon. Full score. (Doblinger, Vienna & Munich, 1959, 8s. 6d.)
- Huzella, Elek, 2 *liriche*. (Ricordi, Milan, 1959, 7s. 6d.)
- Křenek, Ernst, *Two Sacred Songs*. (Bärenreiter, Cassel & Basel; Novello, London, 10s. 6d.)
- Strauss, Richard, *Krämerspiegel*, Op. 66. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1959.)
- Vogel, Wladimir, *Alla memoria di Giovanni Battista Pergolesi*. (Ricordi, Milan, 1959, 22s. 6d.)

Sir Malcolm's orchestrations of the 'Four Serious Songs' have been heard fairly often, and it is good to have the score available. The songs withstand the operation, and one could hardly have a more experienced doctor. One is bound to miss (unless in the Albert Hall) the dark swirlings of arpeggios-cum-sustaining pedal, but in many respects the music benefits from the bigger accompaniment, which is tastefully done.

Fellowes's edition of 'The English School of Lutenist Song-writers' ended its first series at the sixteenth volume, and for the second series the lute tablature was no longer given. Here the editors have elected to publish the tablature below its 'realization', into which is incorporated in larger notes the bass viol part, so that the whole of the possible accompaniment is neatly shown. John Coprario has become more accessible as an instrumental composer through the publication of some fine pieces in 'Musica Britannica', Vol. IX, and it is a pleasure to have such fine songs to complement these, and undoubtedly to enhance his reputation as a composer. There is enough in these songs to justify what the editors see as a foreshadowing of the coming 'recitative musick'. The 'Funeral Teares' contain 'In darkness let me dwell', and it must suffice to say that it is able to live in the same field with Dowland's subsequent setting. In some of the songs it is difficult to draw the line between studied angularity and stiffness of the joints. Present tastes being what they are, this cannot matter yet, and altogether this volume is a worthy resuscitator of the series.

Haydn's aria was written for inclusion in his performance at the Esterházy Court Theatre of Cimarosa's 'La Circe' in 1789. It is a short and charming soubrette song, consisting of a graceful Andante tune, neatly orchestrated, leading to a tripping Allegro di molto in a patter style. The name of Huzella defeats the reference books to hand, but on the evidence of these two short songs (Hungarian with Italian translation) he is the possessor of a decided lyrical gift, with a flair for atmosphere expressed in fastidious tonal harmony. The songs by Křenek are settings of part of Ecclesiastes and of most of Psalm 104, the pessimism of the former giving way to the exuberant joy of the latter. The vocal line is

given in both German and English, and the composer went to the trouble of rewriting the part to match the rhythms of the second language. Though the style remains atonal the voice part is not unrewarding, the phrases having a carefully-considered rise and fall that enable a sensitive singer both to retain pitch and to feel that the music is really helping the expression of the words. There is a certain amount of fitting picturesqueness in the evocations of nature.

Strauss wrote the 'Shopkeeper's Mirror' in 1918 as a squib in a battle with German publishers over performing rights. In spite of the special pleading in the preface to this publication they can hardly stand on their own now that the *casus belli* has been removed. There are numerous obvious self-quotations, but not enough independent music of any quality. For the 1959 Pergolesi Festival a twelve-note composer, Wladimir Vogel, wrote a cantata for tenor and strings whose words consisted of a passage from a biography of Pergolesi, together with Pergolesi's epitaph. To arrive at his row the composer took a motif of eight notes from a recitative and aria in the opera 'Olympiade' and added four of his own to make "la mia serie dodecafonica pergolesiana". The piece includes quotations from 'La serva padrona' and the 'Stabat Mater', and there is an apparently serious setting of the dreadful scene when Pergolesi, presiding at the *cembalo*, had rotten fruit thrown at him. The piece is singable, it has been sung, and that presumably is the end of the matter.

I. K.

Blyton, Carey, *The Poetry of Dress*. (Mills Music Ltd., London, 1960, 5s.)

Britten, Benjamin, *Nocturne*, Op. 60, for tenor, seven obbligato instruments and strings. Miniature score. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1959, 10s.)

Songs from the Chinese, Op. 58, for high voice and guitar. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1959, 7s. 6d.)

Milner, Anthony, *Our Lady's Hours*. (Novello, London, 1959, 6s.)

Vaughan Williams, R., *Three Vocalises* for soprano and clarinet. (Oxford University Press, 1960, 4s. 6d.)

The three poems—if that is not too weighty a word—set by Carey Blyton are Herrick's 'Whenas in silks my Julia goes' and 'A sweet disorder in the dress' and the anonymous 'My love in her attire'. Short as they are, the composer expands them at his peril. Here the tempestuous petticoat billows rather slowly, and to repeat "when all her clothes are gone", however archly, is to undo the punctual naughtiness of the rhyme. But the songs, for tenor and piano, are grateful to sing and easy to play.

In 'Nocturne' we step into another world, in which from the Serenade for tenor and horn onwards Britten has moved with inimitable freedom and deftness of foot—a world where not just the words but the whole succession of their moods are so integrated with the music that the most diverse and picturesque obbligati can be absorbed without disturbing the whole. (It is of course this freedom, while other composers are clutching for their safety-belts, old or new, which is one of the delights of the modern scene.) The work begins with muted strings gently tangling and suggesting the rise and fall of breath in sleep. This figure, here setting the scene as an accompaniment to 'On a poet's lips I slept' from Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound', is used recurrently through the work. The

obligato instruments enter to point successive movements, the bassoon as the sea-monster Kraken of Tennyson's poem, the harp to the 'Wanderings of Cain' (Coleridge), the horn encompassing a fantastically adroit chain of imitations in a passage of Middleton, the timpani recalling massacres, earthquakes and dim admonishments from Wordsworth's 'Prelude', the cor anglais brooding beneath Owen's 'Kind ghosts' and the flute and clarinet lending brilliant rhythmic evocations to a passage of Keats. All the instruments join to accompany the last poem, Shakespeare's sonnet 'When most I wink'. Inevitably the description suggests that the voice has a minor role. This is far from the case, but there seems no point in extolling again a gift for memorable and precise melody which has been obvious for many years.

The 'Songs from the Chinese', in Arthur Waley's translation, challenge composer and performers to catch their vanishing moment and illuminate it. The challenge is handsomely met, but singers are warned that much quasi-parlando precision is required, the effect of each song residing in the interplay of voice and accompaniment to an exceptional degree even for Britten. Although the alternative is not suggested, a sensitive pianist could well accompany all but the fifth song, in which the onset of old age is depicted wholly by glissando chords.

Apart from their subject-matter and a few turns of musical speech the titles 'Dawn', 'Noon' and 'Dusk' are the main justification for calling Anthony Milner's three songs a cycle. They are in fact very dissimilar. It is a brave man who embarks on yet another setting of 'I sing of a maiden' and a skilled one (as here) who makes one forget others while his own is being sung. The setting is simple, and yet there is nothing mechanical about the subtle way in which the repetitions of the verbal phrases are matched in the music. The second song is a setting of Gerald Manley Hopkins, a long flight which avoids obvious means of musical shaping. It is the more incumbent on the performers (since the words themselves could never impose their own shape at a first hearing) to find and savour the various near-repetitions—'rhyming' phrases, similar rhythms—and to make the most of them. The last song is an Adagio setting of a ballade by Belloc, which at the given tempo might be held to detract from the punctual articulation of the poem. But its studied monotony offsets a fine and singable climax. The harmonic style is warm, making a feature of chromaticisms which resolve but slowly.

Singers may well be glad that Vaughan Williams's 'Vocalises', dated 1958, have been brought out of the cupboard. Though they do not amount to much musically they have character—Prelude, Scherzo and Quasi Menuetto—and sopranos with flexibility and staccato top C's would enjoy throwing them off.

I. K.

VIOLIN AND PIANO

Skerjanc, L. M., *Four Dithyrambic Pieces*. (Chester, London, 1959.)

These are eclectic compositions by a musician who was born a fortnight before the end of the last century and shows little inclination to have anything to do with this one. He appears to have more natural musical confidence and fluency than self-criticism or discipline. C. M.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'

'TRADITIONAL TUNES OF THE CHILD BALLADS'

Sir,

Readers who have found the apparatus of Professor Bronson's 'Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads' obscure may like to note the following articles in American journals, in which the method (not described in the book) is explained:

'Interdependence of Ballad Tunes and Texts', *Western Folklore*, iii (1944); 'Mrs. Brown and the Ballad', iv (1945); 'Folk Song and the Modes', *Musical Quarterly*, xxxii (1946); 'Mechanical Help in the Study of a Folksong' (the use of the International Business Machine in tabulating features of a tune), *Journal of American Folklore*, 244 (1949); 'Union of Words and Music in the Child Ballads', *Western Folklore*, xi (1952); 'Morphology of the Ballad Tune', *Journal of American Folklore*, 263 (1954); 'Towards the Comparative Analysis of British-American Folktunes', *Journal of American Folklore*, 284 (1959).

Little Wing,

Woodfold,

Fernhurst,

Haslemere, Surrey.

30 July 1960.

MARGARET DEAN-SMITH.

TOMKINS AND FARNABY

Sir,

Mr. Joel Newman is tilting at the moon. Has he never felt, when playing or listening to the keyboard music of Tomkins, that the composer often allowed his fingers to run away with his musical discretion? We have—not only with Tomkins, but also with Bull and even with Byrd. Farnaby did indeed write a number of longer works, which at least one would-be anthologist has played through many times. But he was forced to conclude, with his predecessors, that Farnaby was much better at short pieces than at long ones. Such a man is surely a 'miniaturist'; the term has been applied to such artists of Farnaby's own time as Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver, not as a rebuke but as the highest praise. In the new 'Oxford History of English Art', volume VIII deals with the period from 1625 to 1714. Its authors, Margaret Whinney and Oliver Millar, begin their chapter on 'The Miniature' by roundly declaring that "there is no form of artistic expression in which English painters have more excelled than in the portrait miniature". To place Farnaby in such company is not to set a mousetrap for him.

Cambridge.

8 August 1960.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

- The Church Music of William Billings.* By J. Murray Barbour. pp. xvi + 167. (Michigan State University Press, 1960, \$5.00.)
- Music for Fun: a Quiz Book.* By Robert Donington. pp. 180. (Hutchinson, London, 1960, 10s. 6d.)
- Freiheit und Bindung in künstlerischen Schaffen.* By Hans Mersmann. 'Musikalische Zeitfragen', VIII. pp. 22. (Bärenreiter, Cassel & Basel; Novello, London, 1960, 8s. 6d.)
- Conférence de Bruxelles.* By Olivier Messiaen. Text in French, German and English. pp. 14. (Leduc, Paris; United Music Publishers, London, 1960, 3s. 6d.)
- An Introduction to Folk Music in the United States.* By Bruno Nettl. pp. vii + 122. (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1960, \$2.50.)
- Die Reihe. VI: Sprache und Musik.* pp. 88. (Universal Edition, Vienna, 1960, 12s. 6d.)
- Analyse zu Igor Strawinsky's 'Sacre du Printemps'.* By Horst Scharschuch. 'Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft', Bd. VIII. pp. 244. (Bosse, Regensburg, 1960.)
- The Art of Robert Casadesu.* By Sacha Stookes. pp. 72. (Fortune Press, London, 1960, 10s. 6d.)
- Gustav Mahler.* By Hans Christoph Worbs. pp. 107. (Max Hesses Verlag, Berlin, 1960, DM.4.80.)

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